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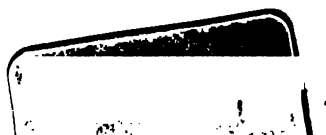
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PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH.

S. S. HALDEMAN, A. M.



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PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH.

PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH:

A DIALECT OF SOUTH GERMAN WITH AN

INFUSION OF ENGLISH.

BY

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NOTICE.

WHILE I was engaged with the third part of my *Early English Pronunciation*, Prof. Haldeman sent me a reprint of some humorous letters by Rauch, entitled *Pennsylvanish Deitsch. De Campain Breesa fum Pit Schwefflebreuner un de Beevy, si alty, gepublished olly wech in "Father Abraham."* Perceiving at once the analogy between this debased German with English intermixture, and Chaucer's debased Anglo-saxon with Norman intermixture, I requested and obtained such further information as enabled me to give an account of this singular modern reproduction of the manner in which our English language itself was built up, and insert it in the introduction to my chapter on Chaucer's pronunciation, *Early English Pronunciation*, pp. 652-663. But I felt it would be a loss to Philology if this curious living example of a mixture of languages were dismissed with such a cursory notice, and I therefore requested Prof. Haldeman, who by birth and residence, philological and phonetic knowledge, was so well fitted for the task, to draw up a more extended notice, as a paper to be read before the Philological Society of London. Hence arose the following little treatise, of which I, for my own part, can only regret the brevity. But the Philological Society, having recently exhausted most of its resources by undertaking the publication of several extra volumes, was unable to issue another of such length, and hence the present Essay appears independently. Owing to his absence from England and my own connexion with the paper, which I communicated and read to the Philological Society, on 3 June, 1870, Prof.

Haldeman requested me to superintend the printing of his essay, and add anything that might occur to me. This will account for a few footnotes signed with my name. The Professor was fortunately able to examine one revise himself, so, that though I am mainly responsible for the press work, I hope that the errors may be very slight

Sufficient importance does not seem to have been hitherto attached to watching the growth and change of living languages. We have devoted our philological energies to the study of dead tongues which we could not pronounce, and have therefore been compelled to compare by letters rather than by sounds, and which we know only in the form impressed upon them by scholars of various times. The form in which they were originally written is for ever concealed. The form in which they appear in the earliest manuscripts has practically never been published, but has to be painfully collected from a mass of various readings. The form we know is a critical, conjectural form, patched up by men distinguished for scholarship, but for the most part entirely ignorant of the laws which govern the changes of speech. The very orthography is medieval. We are thus enabled to see as little of the real genesis of language, in form, in sound, in grammatical and logical construction, in short in the real pith of philological investigation—the relation of thought to speech-sounds—as the study of a full-grown salmon would enable us to judge of the marvellous development of that beautiful fish. Such studies as the present will, I hope, serve among others to stimulate exertion in the new direction. We cannot learn life by studying fossils alone.

ALEX. J. ELLIS.

KENSINGTON,
23 APRIL, 1872.

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PENNSYLVANISCH DEITSCH.

CHAPTER I.

PEOPLE—HISTORY—LOCATION—CONDITION.

The reciprocal influence of languages affords an interesting subject of investigation, and it is the object of this essay to present an outline of a dialect which has been formed within a century, and which continues to be spoken, subject to the influences which developed it. Of such languages, English, Wallachian, and Hindûstânî, are familiar examples.

Like other languages, the dialect of German known as Pennsylvania Dutch presents variations due to the limited intercourse of a widely-scattered agricultural population, and to the several dialects brought from abroad, chiefly from the region of the Upper Rhine, and the Neckar, the latter furnishing the Suabian or Rhenish Bavarian element. The language is therefore South German, as brought in by emigrants from Rhenish Bavaria, Baden, Alsace (Alsatia), Würtemberg, German Swisserland, and Darmstadt. There were also natives from other regions, with certain French Neutrals deported from Nova Scotia to various parts of the United States, including the county (Lancaster) where the materials for this essay have been collected. These, and probably some families with French names from Alsace, are indicated by a few proper names, like *Roberdeau*, *Lebo*, *Deshong* and *Shunk* (both for *Dejean*), and an occasional word like *júschtaménnt* (in German spelling), the French *justement*, but which a native might take for a condensation of *just-an-dem-ende*.

Welsh names like *Jenkins, Evans, Owen, Foulke, Griffith, Morgan*, and *Jones* occur, with the township names of *Brecknock, Caernarvon, Lampeter, Leacock* ('Lea' as *lay*), and in the next county of Chester—*Gwynedd* and *Tredyffrin*; but there seems to have been no fusion between Welsh and German, probably because the Welsh may have spoken English. Local names like *Hanöver, Heidelberg* and *Manheim*, indicate whence some of the early residents came.

The French-American *ville* appears in German Pennsylvania, in *Bechtelville, Engelsville, Greshville, Lederachville, Scherksville, Schwenksville, Silberlingsville, Wernersville, Zieglerville*; paralleled by the English *town* in *Kutztown, Mertztown, Schäfferstown, Straustown*; *burg* in *Ickesburg, Landisburg, Rehrersburg*; and the German *dorf* has a representative in *Womelsdorf*.

Pennsylvania German does not occur in the counties along the northern border of the state, but it has extended into Maryland, Western Virginia, Ohio, and farther west; and it has some representatives in western New York, and even in Canada. In many of the cities of the United States, such as *Pittsburg, Chicago, Cincinnati*, and *Saint Louis*, recent large accessions from Germany have brought in true German, and to such an extent that the German population of the city of New York is said to exceed that of every European city except Berlin and Vienna. The newer teutonic population differs from the older in living to a great extent in the towns, where they are consumers of beer and tobacco—luxuries to which the older stock and their descendants were and are but little addicted. The numerous allusions to the 'Fatherland' to be met with, belong to the foreign Germans—the natives caring no more for Germany than for other parts of Europe, for they are completely naturalised, notwithstanding their language.

Several thousand Germans had entered Pennsylvania before the year 1689, when a steady stream of emigration set in, and it is stated that their number was 100,000 in 1742, and 280,000 in 1763. They occupied a region which has located the Pennsylvania dialect chiefly to the south-east of the Alle-

ghenies, excluding several counties near Philadelphia. Germantown, six miles from Philadelphia, although settled by Germans, seems to have lost its German character. The language under the name of 'Pennsylvania Dutch' is used by a large part of the country population, and may be constantly heard in the county towns of Easton on the Delaware, Reading (i.e. red-ing) on the Schuylkill, Allentown on the Lehigh, Harrisburg (the State capital) on the Susquehanna, Lebanon, Lancaster, and York.

A fair proportion of the emigrants, including the clergy, were educated, and education has never been neglected among them. The excellent female boarding schools of the Moravians were well supported, not only by the people of the interior, but also by the English-speaking population of the large cities, and of the Southern States—a support which prevented the German accent of some of the teachers from being imitated by the native teutonic pupils—for the education was in English, although German and French were taught. Booksellers find it to their advantage to advertise the current German and English literature in the numerous German journals of the interior, and there is a *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations Lexicon* in course of publication, which gives the following statistics of one of the German counties.

"The German element is strongly and properly represented in Allentown, and in Lehigh county generally, where the German language has retained its greatest purity, and so strong is this element, that in the city itself there are but few persons who speak English exclusively. An evidence of this is found in the fact that in seventy of the eighty Christian congregations in the county, some of which are over one hundred years old, Divine service is conducted in the German language. Allentown has seven German churches: (two Lutheran, one Reformed, two Methodist, one United Brethren, and one Catholic); and nine German journals, of which are published weekly—*Der Unabhängige*¹ *Republikaner* (fifty-nine years old), *Der Friedensbote* (fifty-seven years old), *Der Lecha County Patriot* (forty-three years old), *Der Weltbote* (fifteen years old, with 12,000 subscribers), and *Die Lutherische Zeitschrift*. The *Stadt- und Land-Bote* is a daily, the *Jugendfreund* semi-monthly, with twenty thousand subscribers; and Pastor Brobst's *Theologischen Monatshefte* is monthly. Since the beginning of the year 1869, the German language has been taught in the public schools."² The *Reading Adler* is in its seventy-fourth, and the *Lancaster Volksfreund* in its sixty-second year.—Dec. 1869.

¹ Un-ab-häng-ig, un-off-hang-ing, in-de-pend-ent, Polish nie-za-wis-ty.

² Allentown has just completed one of the finest public school buildings in Eastern Pennsylvania.—*Newspaper*, February, 1870.

The convenient quarto German almanacs (with a printed page of about five and a half by seven and a half inches in size), were preferred to the duodecimo English almanacs, even among the non-Germans, until the appearance of English almanacs in the German format about the year 1825.

The early settlers were extensive purchasers and occupiers of land, and being thus widely scattered, and having but few good roads, the uniformity of the language is greater than might have been supposed possible. These people seldom became merchants and lawyers, and in the list of attorneys admitted in Lancaster County, commencing with the year 1729, the names are English until 1769, when *Hubley* and *Weitzel* appear. From 1793 to 1804, of fifty-two names, three are German; from 1825 to 1835, twenty-four names give *Reigart* and *Long* (the latter anglicised). After 1860 the proportion is greater, for among the nine attorneys admitted in 1866, we find the German names of *Urich*, *Loop*, *Kauffman*, *Reinehl*, *Seltzer*, and *Miller*. At the first school I attended as a child, there were but three English family names, and in the playground, English and German games were practised, such as 'blumsak' (G. plumpsack), 'Prisoner's base,' and 'Hink'l-wai' was graabscht du do?' which was never played with the colloquy translated.

Pennsylvania Dutch (so called because Germans call themselves *Deutsch*²) is known as a dialect which has been corrupted or enriched by English words and idioms under a pure or modified pronunciation, and spoken by natives, some of them knowing no other language, but most of them speaking or understanding English. Many speak both languages vernacularly, with the pure sounds of each, as in distinguishing German *töd*

¹ As if 'hühn-kel weihe' *chicken hawk*, 'wai' rhyming with *boy*.

² In an article on (the) "Pennsylvania Dutch" in the 'Atlantic Monthly' (Boston, Mass., Oct., 1869, p. 473), it is asserted that "the tongue which these people speak is not German, nor do they expect you to call it so." On the contrary, the language is strictly a German dialect, as these pages prove. The mistake has arisen from the popular confusion between the terms *Dutch* and *German*, which are synonymous with many. In Albany (New York) they speak of the *Double Dutch Church*, which seems to have been formed by the fusion of a 'German Reformed' with a 'Dutch Reformed' congregation. These are different denominations, now greatly anglicised. In 1867 the Rev. J. C. Dutcher was a Dutch Reformed pastor in New York.

(death) from English *toad*; or English *winter* from German *winter*, with a different *w*, a lengthened *n*, a flat *t*, and a trilled *r*—four distinctions which are natural to my own speech. Children, even when very young, may speak English entirely with their parents, and German with their grandparents, and of two house-painters (father and son) the father always speaks German and the son English, whether speaking together, or with others. The males of a family being more abroad than the females, learn English more readily, and while the father, mother, daughters, and servants may speak German, father and son may speak English together naturally, and not with a view to have two languages, as in Russia. Foreign Germans who go into the interior usually fall into the local dialect in about a year, and one remarked that he did so that he might not be misunderstood. Some of these, after a residence of fifteen or twenty years, speak scarcely a sentence of English, and an itinerant piano-tuner, whose business has during many years taken him over the country, says that he has not found a knowledge of English necessary.

The English who preceded the Germans in Pennsylvania brought their names of objects with them, calling a thrush with a red breast a *robin*; naming a bird not akin to any thrush a *blackbird*; and assigning to a yellow bird the name of *goldfinch*, but adopting a few aboriginal names like *racoon*, *hackee* and *possum*. The Germans did this to some extent, for *blackbird* saying 'schtaar' (G. *staar*,¹ starling,) for the *goldfinch* (oriole) 'goldamschl,' for the *thrush* (G. *drossel*) 'druschl,' for a *woodpecker* 'specht' (the German name), and for a crow 'krap.'

The *ground-squirrel* is named 'fensemeissli' (fence-mouse-lin, *fence* being English); a large grey squirrel is called 'eech-haas' (for *eich-hase*, oak-hare); and in Austria a squirrel is *akatzel* and *achkatzel* (oak-kitten). The burrowing marmot (*Arctomys monax*), known as ground-hog, is called 'grun'daks' (from a fancied analogy with the German *dachs* or badger) and

¹ Words in single quotations are Pennsylvania German. The system of spelling is described in the next chapter. High German words are commonly in italics, or marked G.

in York County 'grandsau,' a translation of the English name. The English *partridge* (partridge, Dutch *patrijs*) is Germanised into 'pattereeseli'—also called 'feld-hinkl' (little field-chicken),—hinkl being universally used for *chicken* or *chickens*.

The usual perversions by otōsis occur, as in the city of Baltimore, where foreign Germans say 'Ablass' for *Annapolis* and 'Kälber Strasse' (Street of Calves) for Calvert Street—but the citizens themselves have replaced the vowel of *what* with that of *fat*, in the first syllable of this name; and the people of New York now pronounce 'Beekman Street' with the syllable *beak* instead of *bake* according to the earlier practice.

A German botanist gave 'Gandoge' as the locality of an American plant; a package sent by express to 'Sevaber' (an English name), and a letter posted to the town of 'Scur E Quss, Nu Yourck,' arrived safely; and I have seen a hand-board directing the traveller to the English-named town of 'Bintgrof.' As these present no special difficulty, they are not explained.

English *rickets* for 'rachitis' is a familiar example of otōsis, and it appears in the following names of drugs furnished by a native druggist who speaks both languages, and who was able to determine the whole from the original prescriptions.

Allaways, Barrickgorrick, Sider in de ment, Essig of Iseck, Hirim Packer, Cinment, Cienpepper, Sension, Saintoun, Opien, High cyrap, Seno and mane misct, Sking, Coroces suplement, Red presepeite, Ammeline, Lockwouth, Absom's salts, Mick nisey, Corgel, Chebubs, By crematarter potash, Balderyon, Lower beans, Cots Shyneel.

CHAPTER II.

PHONOLOGY OF PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH.

§ 1. *Use of the Alphabet.*

In his "Key into the Languages of America," London, 1643, Roger Williams says that "the life of all language is pronuntiation"—and in the comparison of dialects it deserves especial attention. To enable the reader the more readily to understand these pages, and to compare the words with literary German, the principles of German orthography will be used as far as they are consistent, but every letter or combination is in every case to be pronounced according to the power here indicated—except in literal quotations, where the originals are followed. A single vowel letter is always to be read short, and when doubled it must have the same sound, but lengthened—but as a single vowel letter is often read long in German, and as short vowels are often indicated by doubling a consonant letter, this absurd mode is sometimes used to prevent mispronunciation through carelessness.¹ The 's' is also sometimes doubled to prevent it from becoming English 'z' with readers who, in careless moods, might rhyme 'as' (as) with *has* instead of *fosse*. In a PG. poem of Rachel Bahn, commencing with—

"Wie soothing vocal music is!
Wie herrlich un wie schoe!"

¹ For example, as the vowel of German *schaf* is long, the PG. word 'schafleit,' which occurs in a quoted passage farther on, would be likely to be read 'schaafleit' (sheep-people or shepherds) instead of 'schaffleit' (work-people), although it is stated that in the spelling used, a vowel *must not be made long* unless its letter is doubled. "This tendency, and a trick of reading words like *nisbut*, *relation*, *qismut*, *fortune*, as if written *nizbut*, *qismut*, should be carefully guarded against. . . . Even *is*, as, *rusm*, will, in spite of the caveat, . . . become again in his mouth *iz*, *az*, *ruzim*, rather than the *iss*, *auss*, *russum*, intended."—*Gilechrist*, 1806.

most English readers would be likely to rhyme 'is' with *this* instead of *hiss*, which will be prevented by writing 'iss,' etc.

Although I have visited various counties of the State at distant intervals, the facts given here pertain chiefly to a single locality, so that if it is stated, for example, that 's' with its English sound in 'misery' does not occur, or that 'kep' (head) is used to the exclusion of *haupt*, it is not intended to assert that such a sound as *z*, or such a word as *haupt*, have not a local existence. In fact, although they are not recorded here, English *z*, *w*, and *v*, may be common enough. A German confounds *met* and *mat*, *cheer* and *jeer*, and when he becomes able to pronounce them all, he not unfrequently creates a new difficulty, and for *cherry* says *järry* (rhyming *carry*), and after he has acquired sounds like English *z*, *w*, and *v*, they might readily slip into his German speech.

The letter *b* and its spirant (German *w*) both occur, and the latter often replaces *b*, in one region 'ich haw' (I have) replaces 'ich hab,' German *ich habe*, and 'nit' replaces 'net' (not), German *nicht*. The vowels of *up* and *ope* interchange, as in 'kech' or 'koch' (cook) 'nech' or 'noch' (yet); and it is difficult to determine whether the prefixes *ge-* and *be-* have the vowel of *bet* or *but*. Lastly, the nasal vowels are by some speakers pronounced pure. Should discrepancies be found upon these points, they are to be attributed rather to the dialect than to the writer—or to the two conjointly.

§ 2. The Vowels.

E. indicates *English*; G. *German*; SG. *South German*; PG. *Pennsylvania German* (or 'Dutch'); .a preceding dot indicates what would be a capital letter in common print. It is used where capital forms have not been selected, as for æ.

a in *what*, *not*; PG. *kat* (G. *gehabt*) *had*; *kats* *cat*.

aa (ah¹) in *fall*, *orb*; PG. *haas* *hare*; *paar* *pair*; *haan* (G. *hahn*) *cook*; *tsaam* (G. *zaum*) *bridle*.

a in *aisle*, *height*, *out*. In a few cases it is written â. See under the diphthongs.

¹ High German *letters* which represent PG. *sounds* are in parentheses.

- æ (ä, e¹) in *fat*; *hær* (G. Herr) *Sir*; *dær* (and d'r, G. der) *the*; *hærn* (G. hirn) *brain*; *schtærn*, pl. *schtærne* (G. stern) *star*; *mær* (G. mähre) *mare*; *særcht* (G. erst) *first*; *wærts-haus* (G. wirtshaus) *inn*.
- ææ (ä, äh) in *baa*, the preceding vowel lengthened.¹ PG. *bæær* (G. bär) *bear*; *kæær* E. *car*.
- e (ä, ö) in *bet*; PG. *bet* *bed*; *net* (G. nicht) *not*; *apnéme* (G. abnahme) *decline* PG. a wasting disease; *het* (G. hätte) *had*, which, with some other words, will sometimes be written with ä (*hätt*) to aid the reader. In a few cases it is lengthened (as in *thère*), when it is written ê, as in French.
- ee (ä, äh, eh, ö) in *ale*; PG. *meel* (G. mehl) *meal*; *eel* (G. öl) *oil*.
- o (e, o, a) in *but*, *mention*;² PG. *kép* (G. kopf) *head*; *les* (G. lasz) *let*, *hawe* (a short, G. haben) *to have*.
- i (ü, ie, ö) in *finny*; *niks* (G. nichts) *nothing*; *tsrik* (G. zurück) *back*; *miglich* (G. möglich) *possible*; *lit'rlich* (G. liederlich) *riotous*.
- ii (ih, ie, ü) in *feel*; *fiil* (G. viel) *much*; *dii* (G. die) *the*; *riiwe* (G. rübe) *turnip*; *wiisch* (G. wüst, ü long) *nasty*. It is the French î, which is sometimes used in these pages.
- o in *o-mit*; *los* *loose*; *hofnung* *hope*. English *o* pronounced quickly.
- oo in *door*, *home*; *wool* (G. wohl) *well*; *groo* (G. grau) *grey*.
- u in *full*, *foot*; *mus* (G. musz) *must*; *fun* (G. von) *of*.
- uu (uh) in *fool*; *kuu* (G. kuh) *cow*; *guut* (G. gut) *good*.

The true 'a' of *arm* does not occur, except approximately in the initial of *au* and *ei*. The proper sounds of ä, ö, ü are absent, and if these letters are used in a few cases to enable the reader to recognise words, the two former will be restricted to syllables having the vowel sound in *met*, and 'ü' to such as have that in *fit*.

§ 3. The Diphthongs.

- ei (eu) in *height*, *aisle*, German *ei*, with the initial 'a' (italic) of Mr. Ellis (in his *Early English Pronunciation*), 'eu' has the same power in PG.
- ai in *boy*, *oil*; somewhat rare, but present in the names *Boyer*, *Moyer* (from Meyer), *ai* (G. ei) *egg*; *ajær* (aajær, ajær) *eggs*; *hai* (G. heu) *hay*; *bai* (sounding like E. boy, and from E.) *pie*; *wai* (G. weihe) *hawk*. Literary German has it in 'bäume' *trees*, and 'eu' (which is properly ei) is usually confounded with it in German.
- ei, which Mr. Ellis (*ibid.*) gives as the power of English 'ai' (aisle) in London, occurs in the PG. exclamation 'hei,' used in driving cows, and naturalised in the vicinal English. Slavonic has (in German spelling) *huj*, and Hungarian *hü*, used in driving swine. Compare Schmidt, *Westerwäld. Idiot.*, p. 276.

¹ The long vowel used by native speakers in Bath, Somersetshire, England.

² These two powers are not quite the same.

au in *house*; G. *haus*, PG. *haus*. English 'ou' is thus pronounced in adopted words like 'County,' or 'Caunty,' 'Township' or 'Taunship.'

Care must be taken not to confound the initial of these pairs, for G. and PG. 'eis' (ice) and 'aus' (out) have the same initial vowel, while 'aister' would spell *oyster*.

§ 4. Nasal Vowels and Diphthongs.

PG. is not a harsh dialect, like Swiss. It has, however, the Suabian feature of nasal vowels,¹ but to a less extent. They will be indicated with (,) a modification of the Polish mode. This nasality replaces a lost *n* (but not a lost *m*), and it does not pervert the vowel or diphthong, as in the French *un*, *vin*, as compared with *une*, *vinaigre*. Nor does it affect all vowels which have been followed by *n*, for most of them remain pure. Nasal 'ee' (in *they*, French *é*) is very common, but does not occur in French, and French *un* does not occur in PG. Being unaware of the existence of this feature, the writers of the dialect neglect it in the printed examples, which makes it difficult for a foreigner to comprehend them, because a word like 'aa' (the English syllable *awe*) would stand for G. *auch* (also), and when nasal (aa,) for G. *an* (on); and 'schtee' would represent both the German *stehe* and *stein*, as in saying 'I stand on the stone'—

G. Ich stehe auf dem stein.—PG. ich schtee uf m schtee.

The following words afford examples:—

aa,-fang-a (G. anfangen) to begin; alée, (G. allein) alone; schée, (G. schön) handsome; bee, (G. Bein, pl. beine) leg, legs; kee, (G. kein) none; grii, (G. grün) green; duu, (G. thun) to do. Was het ær gedun,? (G. Was hat er gethan?) what has he done? mei, (G. mein, meine) my; dei, (G. dein) thy; nei, (G. hinein) within; ei, being the only nasal diphthong.

The obscurity arising from a neglect of the nasal vowels appears in the following lines—

"Die amshel singt so huebsch un' feih,
Die lereh sie duht ihr lied ah neih;" . . .
"Awhaemle duht mich eppes noh."—*Rachei Bakn*.

Final *n* is not always rejected, but remains in many words, among which are—'in' *in*; 'bin' *am*; 'un' *and*; 'iin' (him)

¹ Indicated in 1860 in my *Analytic Orthography*, §§ 661-3, and in my note to A. J. Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*, 1869, p. 655, note 2, col. 2. "The lost final *n* is commonly recalled by a nasal vowel."

G. *ihn* (but *hii*, for G. *hin* thither); 'fun' (from) G. *von*; 'wan' (when); 'hen' (have) G. *haben*; 'kan' (can); 'schun' (already) G. *schon*.

German infinitives in -en end in -e in PG., a vowel not subject to nasality, so that when G. *gehen* (to go) remains a disyllable it is 'gee'e,' but when monosyllabised it becomes 'gee,'—this vowel being nasalisable. Similarly, G. *zu stehen* (to stand) becomes 'tsu schtee' and 'tsu schtee,;' G. *zu thun* (to do) may be 'tsu tau,'—'tsu tuue,' or (with *n* preserved) 'tsu tuune,' and G. *gehen* (to go) may have the same phases.

§ 5. The Consonants.

The Germanism of confusing *b*, *p*; *t*, *d*; *k*, *g*, is present in PG. and they are pronounced *flat*, that is, with more of the surface of the organs in contact than in English—a characteristic which distinguishes German from languages of the Dutch and Low-Saxon (Plattdeutsch) type.¹ This must be remembered in reading the examples, in which the ordinary usage of these letters will be nearly followed.

The consonants are *b*, *ch*, *d*, *f*, *g* (in *get*, *give*), *gh*, *h*, *j* (English *y*), *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, *r* (trilled), *s* (in *seal*, not as in *miser*), *sch* (in *ship*), *t*, *w* (a kind of *v* made with the lips alone). 'ch' has the two usual variations as in *recht* and *buch*, and its sonant equivalent 'gh' (written with 'g' in German) presents the same two phases, as in G. *regen* and *bogen*. 'ng' before a

¹ The real physiological generation of these *flat* consonants is very difficult for an Englishman to understand. Dr. C. L. Merkel, of Leipzig, a middle-German, confesses that for a long time he did not understand the pure *b*, *d*, not having heard them in his neighbourhood. He distinguishes (*Physiologie der Menschlichen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 146–156), 1. The "soft shut sounds" or *medice*, characterized by an attempt to utter voice before the closure is released, 2. "the half-hard shut sounds" or *tenues implosivæ*, characterized by a sound produced by compressing the air in the mouth by the elevation of the larynx, the glottis being closed, which "therefore acts like a piston," followed by the sudden opening of the mouth and glottis, allowing the vowel to pass, (this is his description of the *flat* sounds, which he says Brücke, a Low-Saxon, reckons among his *medice*), 3. "the hard explosive shut sounds," characterized by a shut mouth and open glottis through which the unvoiced breath is forced against the closing barrier more strongly than in the last case, but without pressure from the diaphragm; 4. "the aspirated or sharpened explosive sound," in which the last pressure occurs with a jerk. The compound English distinction, *p*, *b*; *t*, *d*; *k*, *g*, seem almost impossible for a middle and south-German to understand.—A. J. E.

vowel as in *singer*, hence 'finger' is *fing-er* and not *fing-ger*. 'n' before 'k' is like 'ng,' as in G. *links* (on the left), which is pronounced like an English syllable. Vowels to be repeated are indicated by a hyphen, as in *ge-ennert* (altered), *nei-ich-keit* (novelty).

Should letters be wanted for English j, z, v, w, the first may have *dzh*, and the others italic *z*, *v*, *w*, with *ks* for *x*.

As the reader of English who speaks PG. can learn the German alphabetic powers in half an hour, PG. should be written on a German basis, and not according to the vagaries of English spelling, with its uncertainty and reckless sacrifice of analogy. In print, PG. should appear in the ordinary roman type, in which so many German books are now published.¹

§ 6. *Stein or Schtein ?*

The sequents *sp*, *st*, are perhaps universally converted into 'schp' and 'scht' in PG., as in 'geescht' for *gehest*, 'hascht' for *hast*, 'Kaschp'r' for *Caspar*, 'schtee' for *stein*, and 'schpeck' for *speck*, all of which are genuine German, as distinguished from Saxon, Anglosaxon, and Hollandish, because *S* is incompatible before labials (*w*, *m*, *p*) and dentals (*l*, *n*, *t*) in High German. Hence, where Dutch has *zwijn*, *smidt*, and *speelen*, German has *schwein*, *schmidt*, and *schpielen*; and for Dutch forms like *slijm*, *snee*, and *steen*, German has *schleim*, *schnee*, and *schtein*; but as the German uses the conventional spellings 'spielen' and 'stein,' he is apt to fancy that a law of speech is of less importance than the flourishes of a writing-master, or the practice of a printing-office, even when his own speech should teach him the law.

That German has this feature practically, is proved by the fact that words apparently in *sp*-, *st*-, become *schp*-, *scht*-, when adopted into Russian, although this language has initial *sp*-, *st*-,—a transfer of *speech* rather than of *spelling*, which is as old as the thirteenth century, when the Old High German

¹ On the inconsistencies of Rauch's Orthography on an English basis, see my note 2, p. 655 of Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation*.

'spilman' (an actor) went into Old Slavonic as (using German spelling) 'schpiljman,' where 'spiljman' would have been more in accordance with the genius of the language.

§ 7. *Vowel Changes.*

Altho the pronunciation of many words is strictly as in High German, there are the following important variations. German *a* becomes normally the vowel of *what* and *fall*, but it has the Swiss characteristic of closing to 'o,' as in 'ool' (eel) G. *aal*; 'ee, mool' (once) G. *ein mal*; 'woor' (true) G. *wahr*; 'joor' (year) G. *jahr*; 'frooghø' (to ask) G. *fragen*; 'frook' (a question) G. *frage*; 'doo' (there) G. *da*; 'schloofø' (to sleep) G. *schlafen*; 'schtroos' (street) G. *strasse*; 'nooch' (towards) G. *nach*; 'hoor' (hair) G. *haar*, but 'paar' (pair) and others do not change.

The vowel of *fat* occurs in 'kschær' (harness) G. *geschirr*; 'hærpscht' (autumn) G. *herbst*; færtl (fourth) G. *viertel*; kærl (fellow) G. *kerl*.

German 'o' becomes 'u,' as in 'kumø' (*u* short, see § 2) *to come*, Austrian *kuma*, G. *kommen*; 'schun' (already) G. *schon*; 'fun' (of) G. *von*; 'wuunø' (to reside) G. *wohnen*; 'wuu' (where) G. *wo*; 'sun' (sun) Austr. *sunn*, G. *sonne*; 'suu,' and 'suun' (son) G. *sohn*; 'númitaag' and 'nómidaak' (afternoon) G. *nachmittag*; 'dunørschtaag' (thursday) G. *donnerstag*; 'hunich' (honey) G. *honig*.

German 'ei' is often 'ee,' as in 'heem' (home) G. *heim*; 'deel' (part) G. *theil*; 'seef' (soap) G. *seife*; 'bleech' (pale) G. *bleich*; eens (one) G. *eins*; 'tswee' (two) G. *zwei*.

Irregular forms appear in 'maulwarf' (mole) G. *maulwurf*; 'blës' (pale, rhyming *lace*) G. *blass*; 'siffer' (tippler) G. *säufer*; 'schpoot' (late) G. *spät*, ä long; 'm'r welle' (we will) G. *wir wollen*; 'dii úmeesø' (the ant) G. *die ameise*; 'ep,' 'eb' (whether) G. *ob*; 'dærfø' (to dare) G. *dürfen*; 'færichterlich' (frightful) G. *fürchterlich*; 'ich færicht mich dat [or dart, G. *dort*] anø tsu gee,' *I fear me to go yonder*.

'Dat anø' is for G. *dort hin*, 'anø' being a Swiss adverb

made of G. *an* (on, towards). 'dat' is not common in PG. and it may have been brought from abroad, as it occurs in Suabian—

"Aepfel hott ma dott gsia, wie d' Kirbiss bey üss;" (Radlof, 2, 10.)—(Man hat dort gesehen) *Apples have been seen there like* (G. Kürbisse, PG. *kærapsə*) *pumpkins with us*.

The foregoing 'anə' appears in Swiss "ume und anne" (thither and hither) where 'ume,' Austr. 'uma,' is from G. *um* (about). Stalder refers 'anne' to G. *an-hin*, and Swiss 'abe' to *ab-hin*. Schmid (Schwäb. Wb., p. 23) has *ane*, *dortane*, *dettane*. Schmeller (Bayer. Wb. 1869, p. 91) cites Graff (1, 499), for Ohg. *ostana* (from the East), and Grimm (3, 205).

While PG. 'alt' and 'kalt' (old, cold, *a* in what) have the comparatives 'eltər' 'keltər,' the influence of *r* in 'karts' (short), G. *kurz*, and 'hart' (hard), produces 'kærtser' and 'hærtər,' instead of G. *kürzer* and *härter*. Long *a* becomes long *u* in G. *samen* (seed), PG. 'suumə.'

§ 8. *Diphthong Changes.*

German 'au' sometimes becomes 'aa' (in call), as in PG. 'laafe' (to walk) G. *laufen*; 'glaabə' (to believe) G. *glauben*; 'kaafe' (to buy) G. *kaufen*; 'tsaam' (bridle) G. *saum*; 'traam' (dream) G. *traum*; 'fraa' (wife, woman) G. *frau*, PG. pl. 'weiwər,' because, as the German plural of *frauen* could not well make 'fraaə,' the plural of *weib* was preferred.

German 'au' remains in PG. 'plaum' (plum) G. *pflaume*; 'daum' (thumb); 'haufe' (heap); 'saufe' (to sup); 'haus' (house); 'taub' (dove) G. *taube*; 'aus' (out); 'fauscht' (fist).

German 'au' becomes 'oo' (Eng. floor) in PG. 'groo' (grey) an earlier form of G. *grau*; 'bloo' (blue) G. *blau*; and the name 'Stauffer' is sometimes pronounced 'stoof'r.'

In the plural, 'au' becomes 'ei,' as in PG. 'haus,' pl. 'heiser'; 'maus' pl. 'meis'; 'laus' pl. 'leis'; 'maul' (mouth) pl. 'meiler' G. pl. *mäuler*; 'gaul,' pl. 'geil,' G. pl. *gäule* (horses); 'sau' (sow, hog), pl. 'sei,' G. pl. *säue*, *sauen*.

When 'au' has become 'aa' the German plural *äu* becomes 'ee,' as in 'beem' (trees) G. *bäume*; 'tseem' (bridles) G. *säume*.

'Floo,' G. *floh* (flea) pl. 'flee' for G. *flöhe*, is due to the fact that German long *ö* is replaced by *ee*.

German *au* is *u* in the earlier PG. 'uf' (up) G. *auf*, found in Switzerland and other localities; but 'haus' is not *hūs*, and 'maul' is not *mūl* as in Swiss.

§ 9. Words lengthened.

Some monosyllables are dissyllabised under the influence of trilled *r*, and of *l* (which is akin to *r*), as in 'Jar'ik' (York); 'Jær'ik,' German *Georg* (George), perhaps the only example of the Berlin change of G to (German) J.

PG.	G.	E.	PG.	G.	E.
schtar'ik	stark	strong	dar'ich	durch	through
mar'ikt	markt	market	kar'ap	korb	basket
ær'awet	arbeit	work	bær'ik	berg	hill
kær'ich	kirche	church	mil'ich	milch	milk
karrioh	karren	cart	kal'ich	kalk	lime
geene	gehen	to go	genunk	genug	enough
reeghera	regnen	to rain	wammes	wammes	jacket

PG. g'seenə (seen) G. *gesehen*, occurs in South German, as in the following (Radlof 2, 100), which closely resembles PG.

. . . . vun der Zit an het me niks me vun em g'sehne un g'hört. *From that time on, ('mē' G. man) one (hat) has seen and heard nothing ('mē' G. mehr) more of him.*

G. Es fängt an zu regnen und zu schneien. PG. es fangt (not fängt) aa, tsu reeghera un tsu Schnee. *It begins to rain and to snow.*

§ 10. Words shortened.

Condensation is effected by absorption, as of *d* by *n* in 'wuner' (wonder) G. *wunder*; and of *f* by *p* in 'kəp' (head) G. *kopf*;—by the elision of consonants (an Austrian feature) as in 'wet' (would) G. *wollte*; 'net' (not) G. *nicht*.

By elision of vowels (particularly final *e*) as in 'schuul' (school) G. *schule*, 'tsammə' (together) G. *zusammen*; and by shortening vowels, as in 'siw'ə' (seven) G. *sieben*; 'gew'ə' (to give) G. *geben*; G. *heurathen* (to marry), Suab. *heuren*, PG. 'heierə'; G. *gleich* (like) PG. 'glei'; 'tsimlich' (tolerable) G. *siemlich*.

PG.	G.	E.	PG.	G.	E.
niks	nichts	<i>nothing</i>	mr sin	wir sind	<i>we ars</i>
wet	wollte	<i>would</i>	gésecht'r	gestern	<i>yesterday</i>
set	sollte	<i>should</i>	nemma	nehmen	<i>to take</i>
knep	knopf	<i>button</i>	nam'itag	nachmittag	<i>afternoon</i>
knep	knöpfe	<i>buttons</i>	gebliwë	geblieben	<i>remained</i>
kich	küche	<i>kitchen</i>	jets ¹	jetzt	<i>now</i>
kuncha	küchen	<i>cake</i>	parr'e	pfarrer	<i>preacher</i>
wech	woche	<i>week</i>	oowat	abend	<i>evening</i>
wëche	wochen	<i>weeks</i>	weipsleit	weibslente	<i>women</i>
kiw'l	kübel	<i>bucket</i>	rei,	herein	<i>herein</i>
blos	blase	<i>bladder</i>	nei,	hinein	<i>hither-in</i>
meim	meinem	<i>to my</i>	draa	daran	<i>thereon</i>
anar	ander	<i>other</i>	eltscht	älteste	<i>oldest</i>
naner	einander	<i>each other</i>	tswiwë	zwiebeln	<i>onions</i>
uner	unter	<i>under</i>	hend	hände	<i>hands</i>
drunë	darunter	<i>ther' under</i>	plets	plätze	<i>places</i>
nuner	hinunter	<i>down there</i>	nummë ¹	nun mehr	<i>only</i>
dro'wë	daroben	<i>above</i>	nimmë ¹	nimmer	<i>never</i>
driwë	darüber	<i>ther' over</i>	mee ¹	mehr	<i>more</i>
drin	darin	<i>ther' in</i>	noo	darnach	<i>ther' after</i>
ruff	darauf	<i>there up</i>	pluuk	pflüg	<i>plow</i>
nuff	hinauf	<i>up there</i>	pliighë	pflüge	<i>plows</i>
sind	sünde	<i>sin</i>	kalénar	kalénder	<i>calendar</i>

As G. 'ü' becomes 'i' in PG., G. *lügen* (to tell a lie) and *liegen* (to lie down—both having the first vowel long) might be confused, but the latter is shortened in PG., as in 'ær likt' (he lies down) 'ær likt' (he tells a lie).

PG. Was wi' t? *What wilt thou?* G. Was willst du?

Woo't weepe? Woo't fight? Woo't teare thy selfe?²

Ich wil fische gee. *I will go to fish.*

Ich hab kschriwë. *I have (geschrieben) written.*

Sin mr net keiert? *Are we not married?* G. Sind wir nicht geheirathet? (or verheirathet.)

Infinitive -n is rejected, as in the Swiss and Suabian dialects. In an Austrian dialect it is rejected when *m*, *n*, or *ng* precedes, as in *singa*, *rena*, *nehma*, for *singen*, *rennen*, *nehmen*.—*Castelli*, Wörterbuch, 1847, p. 31.

The length of some vowels is doubtful, as in 'rot' or 'root' (red, like English *röte* or *röde*), 'so' or 'soo,' 'nochbër' or 'noochbër,' 'emol' or 'emool,' 'ja' or 'jaa,' 'sii' or 'sī' (she, they, I in deceit, not in *sit*). Compare English 'Sēe!' and 'Sēe thêre!'

Accent in PG. agrees with that of High German. When indicated, as in *danóot* or *danoot'* (for the 'oo' represent a single vowel, as in Eng. *floor*), it is to afford aid to the reader not familiar with German accent.

¹ Swiss forms.

² *Hamlet*, act 5, sc. 1, speech 106; folio 1623, tragedies, p. 278, col. 2.

CHAPTER III.

VOCABULARY.

The vocabulary of PG. has but few synonyms, a single word being used where High German has several, as 'plats' (place) for G. *platz* and *ort*. Of the German words for *horse* (*pferd*, *ross*, *gaul*, etc.), 'gaul' is universal in speech, *ross* seems not to be known, and *pferd* is almost restricted to print.¹ A colt is not called *füllen* as in German, but 'hutsch,' with a diminutive 'hutschli' (in Suabian *hutschel*, *hutschele*, Westerwald *huss*, Lusatian *hussche*.)

A pig is not *ferkel* (Lat. porc-ell-us, Welsh porch-ell) but 'seili' (from *sau*), and children call it 'wuts' (Suab. *butzel*) a repetition of this being used (as well in vicinal English) in calling these animals. 'Kalb' (calf, pl. 'kelwər') is named by children 'hameli'² when a suckling. Cows are called with 'kum see ! see ! see hameli ! see !' and when close at hand with 'suk suk suk' (as in *forsook*)—used also in the English of the locality.³

Of G. *knabe* (boy) and *bube*, pl. *buben*, PG. takes the latter as 'buu,' pl. 'buuwə,' and of the G. *haupt* and *kopf* (head) it prefers the latter as 'kəp.' Of the verbs *schmeissen* and *werfen* (to throw), *kriegen* and *bekommen* (to obtain), *hocken* and *sitzen* (to sit), *schwetzen* and *sprechen* (to talk), *erzählen* and *sagen* (to tell), PG. uses 'schmeisse,' 'kriighə,' 'həkə,' 'schwetse' and 'saaghe' almost exclusively.

The suffix -lein, condensed to -li and -l, is the universal diminutive, as in *Swisserland* and *South Germany*—a small

¹ Of words not occurring in print, the Swiss, Bavarian, and Suabian form *bruntsen* replaces *harnen* and its synonyms.

² Seemingly akin to Swiss *ammeli*, *mammeli* (a child's sucking-glass), whence *mämmelen* (to like to drink). G. *amme* (a wet-nurse), in Bavaria, also a mother.

³ PG. *des kalb sukt* (this calf sucks,) G. *saugt*.

house being called 'heissli' and not *häus-chen*, and a girl 'meedl' and not *mädchen*. It is, however, very often associated with the adjective *klee*, (little) G. *klein*, as in PG. 'e *klee*, *bichli*' (a little book).

German *kartoffeln* (potatoes) is rejected for G. *grundbirnen*¹ under the form of 'krumpiire,' where 'krum' is accepted by some as *krumm* (crooked), while some regard the latter part as meaning *pears*, and others as *berries*.

F'rleicht, Fileicht (perhaps, G. *vielleicht*) are in use, but the former seems the more common.

Sauerampl, G. *sauerampfer* (sorrel, *Rumex*).

Bewwer, Krik, Krikli (Eng. *river, creek*) have thrust aside G. *fuss* and *bach*.

Laafe (to walk; G. *laufen* to run, and to walk).

Schpring-e (to run, a Swiss usage. G. *springen*, to leap, spring, gush).

Petse (to pinch), Alsace *pfetse*, Swiss *pfätzen*, Suab. *pfetzen*.

Tref (Suab., a knock, blow). PG. 'ich *tref dich*' (I strike thee).

Schmuts (a hearty kiss). Swiss, Suab., in G. *schmats*.

Un'ich (under), G. *unter*, occurs in provincial German as *unn-ig* and *unt-ig*; *hinnig* occurs also, PG. 'hinnich,' as in 'hinnich d'r diir' *behind the door*.

Wii m'r donaus gläffä sin, bin ich hinnich iin nooch gläffä. *As we walked out, I walked behind him.*

For 'hinnich,' Alsatian has *hing-e*, as in 'M'r geen *hing-e* [nach den] noo de goortä noo'—*We go along behind the garden*.

Uumet, oomet, Austr. *omad*, Swiss *amet*, G. *das grummet* (after-math). Suab. *ämt, emt, ömd, aumad*; Bavar. *âmad*.

Arik, arrig (much, very), Swiss *arig*, G. *arg* (bad, cunning).

PG. Ich hab net gwist [Suab. *gwest*] dass es so arrik reeghart. *I did not suppose it to be raining so hard.*

Artlich (tolerably) is the Swiss *artlich* and *artig*.

Ewwe, G. adv. *eben* (really, even, just), but it is PG. 'eewə' when it is the adj. *even*.

Ich hab ewwe net gwist for sure eb ær e fraa het eder net. (*Rauch*.) *I did not even know 'for sure' if he has a wife or not.*

amanat, adv. metathesised and adapted from G. *an einem Orte* (at a place), a dative for an accusative *an einen Ort* (in a place) as

¹ This name seems to have been originally applied to the crooked tubers of the Jerusalem artichoke, and *humming-bird* was probably applied to moths of the genus *Sphinx* (named from the form of the larva) before the bird bearing this name was known in Europe.

used here. In the example, 'ane' is G. *an* inflected, and *zu* of *zu schicken* is omitted, as sometimes done in PG.

... wan als e briif kummt f'r amanat ane schike ... (*Rauch*.) *When ever a letter comes for to send on—to be sent on.*

Henkweide (weeping willow). G. Hängebirke, is hanging birch.

Tapper (quickly), as in Schpring tapper *run quick! be in a hurry*—thus used in Westerwald, and as *very* in Silesia. G. tapfer (brave, bravely), E. dapper.

Meener (more), **Meensch** (most), for G. *mehr*, *meist*, are réferable to *mancher* and a hypothetic *mannigste*. 'Mee' and 'mee,' (more), Swiss—"Was wett i meh?" *What would I more.* "Nimme meh," *never more.* PG. 'Was wet ich mee? Nimmi mee.' (See *Ellis*, Early English Pronunciation, p. 663, note 39.)

Schtrublich, **schtruwlich**. G. *struppig* (bristly, rough), Swiss *strublig*, PG. 'schtruwlich' (disordered, uncombed, as hair). English of the locality *stroobly*.

Neewich; SG. *nebensch*, Wetterau (upper Hessia) *nébig*, G. *neben* (beside).

"Naevvich der mommy ruht er now [Eng. *now*]

In sellem Gottes-acker¹ dort,

Shraegs² fun der Kreutz Creek Kerrich nuf, [hinauf.]

Uft denk ich doch an seller ort!"—*Rachel Bahn*.

Hensching, G. *handschus* (gloves, Sw. *händschen*) becomes a new word with 'hen' for *hände* (hands), the ä umlaut being used to pluralise, but the word is singular also, and, to particularise, a glove proper is 'fing-er hensching' and a mitten 'fauscht-hensching.' This termination is given to 'pärsching' a peach.

Sidder (since), Swiss *sider*, *sitter*; Suabian and Silesian *sider*; Scotch, etc., *sithens*.

Schpel (a pin), SG. *die spelle* (a better word than G. *stecknadel*); Dutch *speld* (with *d* educed from *l*); Lat. *SPIcuLa*.

Botser (masc. a tail-less hen), Holstein, *buttars*. Provincial G. *butzig* (stumpy).

Mallikop (i.e. thick-headed, a tadpole). Swiss *mollig*, *molli* (stout, blunt); Suabian *mollig* (fleshy). Alsatian *muurkröntl* (tadpole) from *muur*, G. *moder*, Eng. *mud*. The PG. of western New York has taken the New England word *polliwog*.

Blech (tin, a tin cup); dim. 'blechli.' Blechiche Bool (a tin bowl, i.e. a *dipper*, a convenient word which seems not to have been introduced). In Pennsylvanian English, a tin cup is a *tin*.

¹ Scarcely legitimate, the PG. word for a grave-yard being *kärich-hof*.

² Diagonally.

² This word is correct without the elisive mark, which perverts the syntax.

Schtreel, m. (a comb); Swiss, Alsatian, Suab. *der strähl*. But G. *striegel*, PG. *striegel*, PG. *strigl*, is a currycomb.

Aarseh, the butt end of an egg, as in Suabian.

Falsch (angry), as in Swiss, Bavarian, and Austrian. PG. *Sel het mich falsch g'macht*. *That made me angry*.

Hoochtsich, Alsat. *hoochtsitt*, G. *hochzeit* (a wedding).

Heemeln, Swiss *heimeln* (to cause a longing, to cause home feelings).

"Wie hämelt mich do alles a'!"

Wii heemlt mich doo-alles aa,!

Ich steh, un denk, un guck;

ich schtee, un denk, un gukk;

Un was ich schier vergessa hab,

un was ich schiir f'rgessa hab,

Kummt wider z'rück, wie aus seim Grab,

kummt widd'r terik, wii aus seim graab,

Un steht do wie e' Spook!" *Harb.*

un schteet doo wii e schpukk!

(G. *Wie alles da anheimelt mich*) *How all here impresses me with home, I stand, and think, and look; and what I had almost forgotten, comes back again as out of its grave, and stands here like a ghost.*

Drep, pl. *drep* (simpleton, poor soul). "O du armer Tropff!"

(Suabian). *Radlof*, 2, 10. "Die arma Drep!"—*Harbaugh*.

Schwalme (Swiss, for G. *schwalbe*, a swallow).

Jaa (O. Eng. *yes*), is used in answer to affirmative questions.

Joo (O. Eng. *yea*), is used in answer to negative questions. See Ch. viii. § 1, ¶ 12, and § 3, ¶ 2.

"Sin dii sache dei,? *Jaa*, sii sin." (Are the things thine? *Yes*, they are.)

"Sin dii sache *net* dei,? *Joo*, sii sin." (Are the things *not* thine. *Yea*, they are.) "Bischt du *net* g'sund? *Joo*, ich bin."¹ (Are you *not* well? *Yea*, I am well.)

saagt, G. *sagt* (he says): *secht*, as if G. *sägt*, for *sagte* (he said), as if it were a strong verb.

Gleich, to like, be fond of, Eng. to *like*, but perhaps not Eng.

See Ch. viii., ¶ 3. PG. *ær gleicht s geld*—*he loves money*.

Glei, adv. (soon).—*ær kummt glei*—*he comes* (will be here) *directly*.

Swiss *gly* and *gleich* have the same meaning.

Abartich, *bartich*, Ch. viii., § 3, ¶ 6 (adj. unusual, strange); (adv. especially). G. *abartig* degenerate.

"Der duckter sogt eara complaint wær . . . conglommereashen im kup, so dos se so unfergleichlich schwitza mus in der nacht, abbordich wan se tsu gedeckt is mit em fedder bet."—*Rauch*, Feb. 1, 1870. *The doctor asserts her 'complaint' to be . . . 'conglomeration' in the head, so that she must sweat uncommonly in the night, PARTICULARLY when she is covered [tsu is accented] in with the feather bed.*

Biibi, *piipi*, *biibeli*; Swiss *bibi*, *bibeli*, *bidli* (a young chicken).

Used also to call fowls—the second form in the vicinal English, in which a male fowl is often called a *hé-biddy*.

¹ The Rev. D. Ziegler.

The Swiss use in PG. of the genitive form *des* of the article, instead of the neuter nominative *das*, causes little or no confusion, because this genitive is not required, and its new use prevents confusion between *das* and *dass*. Where German uses *des*, as in *Der Gaul des* (or *meines*) *Nachbars* (the horse of the, or my, neighbor), PG. uses a dative form—

. . . dem (or *meim* for *meinem*) *nochber sei, gaul* (the neighbor his horse). See the quotation (p. 28) from Schöpf.

PG. inflects most of its verbs regularly, as in 'gedenkt' for G. *gedacht*, from *denken* (to think). In the following list, the German infinitive, as *backen* (to bake), is followed by the third person of the present indicative (er) *bäckt*, PG. (ær) 'bakt' (he bakes). The PG. infinitive of *blasen*, *braten*, *fragen*, *rathen*, *dürfen*, *verderben*, is 'bloose', *broote*, *frooghe*, *roote*, *dærfæ*, *f'rdaerwæ*. 'bloose' (to blow) and 'nemme' (to take) occur below, in the extract from Miss Bahn.

G.	G.	PG.	G.	G.	PG.
blasen <i>blow</i> ,	bläst	bloost	lesen <i>read</i> ,	liest	leest
braten <i>bake</i> ,	brät	broot	lassen <i>let</i> ,	lässt	leest
brechen, <i>break</i> ,	bricht	brecht	messen <i>measure</i> ,	miszt	meest
dreschen <i>thrash</i> ,	drischt	drescht	nehmen <i>take</i> ,	nimmt	nemmt
dürfen <i>dare</i> ,	darf	dærf	rathen <i>advise</i> ,	räth	root
fahren <i>drive</i> ,	fährt	faart	saufen <i>tipple</i> ,	säuft	sauft
fallen <i>fall</i> ,	fällt	fallt	schelten <i>scold</i> ,	schilt	sehelt
fragen <i>ask</i> ,	frägt	froekt	schlafen <i>sleep</i> ,	schläft	schlooft
essen <i>eat</i> ,	isst	eest	schwellen <i>swell</i> ,	schwillt	schwellt
fressen <i>devour</i> ,	friszt	freeszt	sehen <i>see</i> ,	sieht	seest
geben <i>give</i> ,	giebt	gept	stehlen, <i>steal</i> ,	stiehlt	schealt
graben <i>dig</i> ,	gräbt	graapt	tragen <i>carry</i> ,	trägt	traagt
helfen <i>help</i> ,	hilft	helft	verderben <i>spoil</i> ,	verdirbt	f'rdsrpt
laufen <i>run</i> ,	läuft	laaft	vergessen <i>forget</i> ,	vergiszt	f'rgeest

"Der wind, horch yusht, wie er drum
bloss'd, . . .

Gar nix for ihm fersichert is,

Er nemmt sei aegner waek

Dorch ennich risly geht er neih,

Un geht ah nuf die staek."

D'r wint, harich juscht wi ær drum
bloost, . . .

Gaar niks f'r iim f'rsichert iss,

ær nemmt sei, eegner week,

darich ennich risli goet ær nei,

un geet aa 'nuf dii scheek.

The wind, just listen how it therefore (an expletive) blows, . . . quite nothing is secure for (on account of) him, he takes his (eigener weg) own way; through (einig, einiges) any crack he goes (hinein) in, and goes also (hinauf) up the (stiege) stair.

The reader of PG. may be puzzled with 'ma' as used in "ous so ma subject . . . mit ma neia Rail Road" (*Rauch*); 'fun me' or 'fun emæ,' Ger. dative *von einem*, Old High German 'vone einemo'; G. *dem*, Ohg. 'demo'; G. *meinem*, Gothic

'meinamma,' which accounts for the final PG. vowel. Miss Bahn writes it 'mah'—

'S is noch so 'n anre glaener drup,	's iss noch so n anre gleener dröp,
Mit so mah grosse dicke kup,	mit soo mä grosse dikke kōp,
Der doh uf English screech-owl haest,	dær doo uf eng-lisch 'skriitch-aul'
	heest,
Der midde drin hut ah sei nesht.'	dær midde drin het aa sei nescht.

There is yet such another little fellow, with such a large thick head, this here in English is called 'screech-owl,' the middle therein [of the tree] has also its nest.

Remarking on "grosse dicke kup" in the second line, my reverend friend Ziegler sends me the following declensions of the united article and adjective. The dative is used for the genitive, as will appear in the chapter on Syntax.

Nom., Accus. en ('n) grosser dicker kopp, .
 Dat., Gen. eme ('mē) grosse dicke kopp.

Singular.

Nom. der root wei, iss guut. *The red wine is good.*
 Gen. dem roote wei, sei, farb is schee.
 Dat. „ „ „ hab ich 's tsu ferdanke.
 Acc. dii roote wei, hat ær gedrunke.

Plural.

Nom. dii roote wei, sin guut. *The red wines are good.*
 Gen. denne roote wei, . . . iir farb etc. (G. der rothen Weine Farbe ist schön.)
 Dat. „ „ „ hab ich 's etc. (G. den rothen Weinen.)
 Acc. dii roote wei, hat ær, etc.

CHAPTER IV.

GENDER.

§ 1. *Gender of English Words in Pennsylvania German.*

German gender and declension might be said to be in a state of barbarism, were it not that some of the languages of savages have refinements which are wanting in the tongues of civilised people. German gender being in a high degree arbitrary and irrational, there seem but few principles applicable to introduced words, and yet, the linguistic instinct produces a measure of uniformity. The clear distinction in modern English between a spring and a well, does not exist between the German *der quell* (and *die quelle*, PG. 'dii qkel') and *der brunnen*, but German has *der spring* also, which may be used alone, or compounded in *springquell* or *springquelle*. Influenced by English, PG. uses 'dii sehpring' for a natural spring of water, keeping 'd'r brunne' for a well, 'tsig-brunne' for a draw-well with a windlas and bucket—but also 'laafende brunne' for a spring.

As a German says 'dii' for the English article *the*, which he hears applied to everything singular and plural, and as this *die* is his own feminine and plural article, he will be likely to say 'dii fens' for *the fence*, 'dii set' (set, of tools, etc.), 'dii faundri' (foundry), 'dii bänk' (bank of a stream), 'dii færm' (farm), 'dii plantaasche' (plantation), 'dii tēmeti' (timothy hay), 'dii portsch,' 'dii schtæmp' ('stämp' in print, for Gt. *der stempel*), 'dii watsch' (timepiece), 'dii bel hat geringt' (the 'bell' has 'rung'), "Stohrstube . . . mit einer offenen Front," (Store-room with an open front), "die *Fronte*¹ des Hauses" (the 'front' of the house), "Die Sanitäts Board," "Eine Lot Stroh," "Eine Lotte Grund," etc. All of these are feminine

¹ Such italics for English words are no part of the original.

in PG., together with the English nouns *alley*, *road*, *borough*, *square* (of a town) *fair*, *forge*, *creek* (a stream), *climate*, *bowel*, *vendue*, *court* (at law), *law*, *lawsuit*, *jury*, *yard* (of a house),—

Als Herr Yost . . . einen grossen Neufundländer Hund in seiner Yard¹ anders anbinden wollte, fiel ihn das Thier an . . . der Hund wieder an ihn sprang, und ihn gegen die Fenz¹ drängte, . . . *Der Pennsylvanier*, Lebanon, Pa. Sept. 1, 1869.

Of the masculine gender are *river* (PG. 'rewer'), *bargain*, *crop*, *beef* (but 'gedörtes beef' makes it neuter), *carpet*, *turnpike* (or *pike*), *store*, *gravel*, *shop*, *smith-shop*, *shed*, and of course words like *squire*, *lawyer*, and "assignie."

Of the neuter gender are "*das främ*" (frame), "*das flour*" (flour, influenced by G. *das mehl*), *das screen*, *das photograph*, *das piano*, *das supper*, *das buggy*.

Wishing to know the gender of the preceding English words in another county, the list was sent to the Rev. Daniel Ziegler, of York, Pa., who assigns the same genders to them, adding *der settee*, *die umbréll*, *die parasol*, *die bréssent* (prison), *das lampblack*, *das picter* (picture), *das candy*, *das cash*, *das lumber* (building timber), *das scantling*, *das pavement*, *das township*.²

German *die butter* (butter) is masculine in PG. as in South Germany and Austria; and *die forelle* (the trout) is PG. 'dær ferél.' G. *die tunke* (gravy) is neuter under the form 'tunkes' in PG., which makes the *yard* measure feminine, although in Germany (and in print here), it has been adopted as masculine.

Variations in grammatic gender are to be expected under the degenderising influence of English, but at present the

¹ This mode of indicating words is used to avoid corrupting the text with italics.

² As this essay is passing through the press, I add the following examples, which are all in print.

Der charter, *deed* (legal), *lumbag*, *lunch* or *lunsch*, *ein delikater Saurkraut-Lunch*. *Revenuetarif*, *crowd*, *fight*, *molasses*, *Select-Council*, *crop* (fem. with *Miss Bahn*). *Im Juli—schreit der Whipper-will*.

Die jail, *legislatur*, *Grandjury* or *grand Jury*, *ward* (of a city), *lane*, *toll*, *gate*, *pike* or *peik*, *bill* (legislative), *Cornetband* or *Cornet Band*, *eine grosze Box* (of medicine), *gefängnisbox*, *platform*, *manufactory*, *shelving*, *counter*.

Das County, *committee* or *comite*, *picnic*, *screen* (coal-screen), *law* (also fem.), *trial*, *verdikt*, *basin* (reservoir), *Groszes Raffle für Turkeys und Gänse*, *ausgeraffelt werden*.

German genders usually remain, as in *der stuhl* (chair), *der pflug* (plough, PG. 'pluuk'), *der trichter* (funnel, PG. 'trechter'), *der kork* (cork, PG. karik), *der indigo*, *der schwamm* (sponge), *die egge* (harrow, PG. 'eek,' sometimes 'êk'), *die bank* (bench), *die wiese* (meadow, PG. 'wiss'), *die kiste* (chest or chest, PG. kist), *das tuch* (cloth), *das messing* (brass, PG. 'mës,' like Eng. mace), *das füllsel* (stuffing, PG. 'filtsl').

§ 2. The German Genders.

In various aboriginal languages of America there are two genders, the animate and the inanimate—with a vital instead of a sexual polarity; and while German can and does associate gender and sex, its departure from this system is marked by objects conspicuously sexual, which may be of the neuter gender, and by sexless objects of the three genders.

It is easy to see why *das kind* (the child) is neuter, but under the ordinary view of the rise of grammatic gender, it is not easy to see why, in modern German, *der leib* (body) should be masculine, and *das weib* (woman, wife) of the same gender as the child—why *die liebe* (love) should be feminine, and *der friede* (peace) masculine. In German, the genders are incongruous, in English they are congruous, the masculine and feminine being correlatives, with correlative relations to the neuter also, and by dropping the false nomenclature of the German genders, we may be able to get a more philosophic view of them as they now exist, independently of the Old High German system of gender and declension, which accounts for their later condition.

If we adopt *strong* for the German masculine gender, there would be nothing gained if the feminine were called weak, but with the first as *strong*, the second as *soft*, and the third as *dull*, we would have three terms which do not suggest correlation or sex, and we might see nothing irrational in the fact that *man* might be of the strong, and *woman* of the dull gender; and that *peace* might be strong, and *love* soft.

Of the *strong* gender are mann, dieb, freund, mord, mund, hase (of energetic action), aal, salm, fisch, tisch (Sticks), käse (caseus), schnee, klei, steck, sink

(a strong-billed bird), *apfel* (naturally harsh), *stahl*, *stiefel*, *schuh*, *strumpf*, *fusz*, *keil*, *bart*, *baum*, *daum*, *dorn*,¹ *punkt*, *stich*, *beginn*, *rubin*, *diamant*, *klump*, *kummer*, *verstand*, *name*, *tag*, *halm* (a rough material), *floh*, *krebs*, *skorpion*, *hummer*, *hals*, *fels*, *saft*, *bau*, *rath*, *werth*, *zoll*, *flusz*, *Rhein*, *raub*, *acker*, *bogen*.

Of the *soft* gender are *birne*, *hand*, *historie* (Lat. *-ia*), *liebe*, *hoffnung*, *wohnung*, *stadt*, *burg* (implying also jurisdiction), *sonne*, *gluth*, *milch*, *rahm*, *amsel*, *drossel*, *butter*, *feder*, *gans*, *maus*, *ratte*, *luft*, *frucht*, *nacht*, *macht* (as if personified), *armuth*, *kraft*, *furcht*, *kunst*, *haut*, *frau*, *wurst*, *schnur*, *bahn*, *marsch*, *welt*.

Of the *dull* gender are *weib*, *grab*, *brod*,² *blei*, *eisen*, *gold*, *silber*, *zinn*, (but *der zink*), *geld*, *feld*, *land*, *vieh*, *pferd* (the type being agricultural), *rind*, *joch*, *pech*, *haar*, *auge*, *bein*, *dorf*, *ding*, *mensch*, *mädchen*, *volk*, *hirn*, *leben*, *wort*, *buch*, *gesetz*, *herz*, *gemach*, *loth*, *glück*, *werk*, *beil*, *messer*, *schwert*, *glas*, *fenster*, *feuer*, *licht*, *wetter*, *wasser*, *bier*, *malz*, *kraut*, *lamm*, *ei*, *haupt*, *kalb*, *loch*.

¹ From a Gothic masculine in *-us*,—*das horn* being from a Gothic neuter in *-n*.

² Primitive bread was probably rather heavy than light—if a mnemonic view may be taken.

CHAPTER V.

§ 1. THE ENGLISH INFUSION.

Pennsylvania German has long been recognised as a dialect with certain English words, which are sometimes inflected in the German manner. Sportive examples were quoted in the last century, and one is occasionally cited as characteristic, which occurs in Joh. Dav. Schöpf's *Travels* (1783-4) published at Erlangen, in 1788, and thus quoted by Radlof,¹ but in German characters :—

“Mein Stallion ist über die Fehnsz getscheumpt, und hat dem Nachbar sein whiet abscheulich gedämatscht.” (My *stallion* jumped over the *fence* and horribly damaged my neighbor's *wheat*.)

This example is probably spurious and a joke, because PG. ‘hengscht’ and ‘weetsæ’ (instead of *stallion* and *wheat*) are in common use—for the Pennsylvania farmer uses German terms for introduced European objects, and if he calls *rye* ‘karn’ (G. *korn*), instead of *roggen*, this itself is a German name for what is in some localities regarded as corn by excellence. Another example of Schöpf has ‘geklaret land’ (cleared land), and ‘barghen’ (bargain), which are correct.

The German brings with him a vocabulary which is not quite adapted to the objects around him, and he improves his language by dropping such of his words as have an indefinite meaning, replacing them with terms which have an exact and scientific value, where High German is weak and indefinite—having failed to Latinise its vocabulary at the revival of learning. The Pennsylvanian uses ‘fenss’ or ‘fents’ (not “fehnsz”) for the English *fence*, because the German *saun* is equally a *hedge*; he uses ‘flaur’ (or ‘flauer’ Eng. *flour*) as well as the German *mehl*, because the latter is equivalent to English *meal*; he seizes upon *bargain* as better than anything in his vernacu-

¹ *Mustersaal aller deutschen Mund-arten*, . . . Bonn, 1822, vol. 2, p. 361. By a type error, *m* of *getscheumpt* was omitted. See also Dr. Mombert's *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, 1869, p. 373.

lar; and he restricts G. *wagen* (with the sound of 'waghe') to *wagen*, adopting a variation like "bändwagen" for a vehicle used by a musical band, using 'kerritsch' ("carriagemacher") for the English *carriage*, altho 'kutsch' (G. *kutsche*) is also in use. He adopts English expressions for clearing land and speaks of a *clearing* (which he makes feminine) because the destruction of forests by chopping and burning is not a European practice. Railroads were probably built in America before they were in use in Germany, and in Pennsylvania, our English name was imitated in 'reelroot' ('Plankenroad' is in print) or, as in many other cases, the word was translated into "riegelweg." At a later date the foreign name "eisenbahn" was brought in by later immigrants—and "riegel-bahn" is in use.

§ 2. *Newspapers.*

The Pennsylvania German appreciates humor, and to avoid the humorous and often illegitimate use of English words, the first examples in these pages will be selected from the advertisements of about a dozen different newspapers, all printed in the barbarous German character, and published at distant points in Pennsylvania. In such compositions, the attention of the public is called to common objects in a vocabulary which can be accepted without hesitation, and in a style somewhat above the colloquial, in which a horse is called 'gaul' and not *pferd* ('pfært') as usual in print. The spelling is sometimes English and sometimes more or less Germanised, without much affecting the pronunciation, as in "store" (a retail shop¹) or "stohr" (buchstore, storehalter, stohrhaus), which are equally 'schtoor'; "frame," (främe, främ, frähm), are equally the English *frame*; "schap" (shap, schop, schopp, shop, pl. schöp); "township" (township, taunschip); "county" and "caunty"; "turnpike" and "turnpeik"; "cash" and "casch."

In some localities, English names of streets like *King*, *Queen*, *High*, *Water*, *Chesnut Street*, are used in German speech and print, and in others, *Königstrasse*, *Queenstrasse*, *Highstrasse*, *Wasserstrasse* and *Chesnutstrasse*, are preferred.

¹ See note 1 on next page.

As parenthetic words like (Dry Goods) occur in the originals, explanations will be [in brackets], and attention will be called to strictly English words by putting them in *italics*.

The "Pennsylvanische Staats-Zeitung" (published at Harrisburg, the State Capital) claims a larger circulation than any English journal of that city, and the number for Nov. 25, 1869, will be quoted here in the original spelling. Here, where English introduced words might be expected throughout, certain French words are adopted from the German dictionaries, such as *reparaturen*, *delikatessen*, *lagerbier salon* (also *saloon*); *etablissement*, *engagiren*, *quotiren*, *instruiren*, *autorisiren*, *ordonnanz*. Others are rather English than French, as *pavements*, *arrangements*, *publikationspreisen*, *textbücher*, *jury*, *city*, *controle* (. . . so wie dasz die City alleinige Controle über denselben Committee . . .), *connektion*, *konstruktion*, *order*, *governör*, *provisionen*, *groceries*.

Beste Familien-Mehl, in Fässern [in another journal—*Roggenflauer per bärrel—preis flauer*] *superfine per Bärrel*; *Prime weitzen*; *Roggen* [rye] *per Buschel*. Korn [maize or indian corn, properly called Welschkorn in the same column under the quoted Lancaster prices, where "Korn" means rye.] *Hafer*; *Middlings*; *Shorts*.

In the Price-current we find—

Fische . . . *Rock* [Labrax lineatus]; *Pike* [for Hecht, pl. Hechte, a known term]; *Halibut*; *Haddock*; *Sturgeon*; *Trout*; *White Perch* [Labrax albus, vel mucronatus]; *Weisse Fische* [Coregonus albus]; *Härringe*; *Cattische* [Pimelodus, more commonly called 'katschisch'].

Fleische . . . *Roast Beef* per Pfund; *Rump Steaks*; *Surloin*; *Hammelfleisch*; *Schweinfleisch*; *Gedörrtes Beef* [Getrocknetes Rindsfleisch is quoted from Pittsburgh]; *Beef Schinken*; . . . *Mess Pork*; . . . *Schmalz* in *kegs*; *Lard-Oel*; *Butter* (roll . . . print) [with 'roll' and 'print' in Roman type]; *Molasses* [commonly called *malassich*]; *Süszkartoffeln* [a translation of sweet-potatoes, instead of bataten]; *Schellbarks* [nuts of the shell-bark hickory]; *Aepfelbutter* (Latwerg) [G. Latwerge, PG. látwærik, translated from E. apple-butter].

In the humorous department we find—

Ein ähnliches Räthsel wie sell eine, war scho [schon] früher im *Päper*; . . . Sie sind gemuvt ?² *Very well*, . . . Sell isch e guat's³ Plätzel . . . sellem Joseph am Eck⁴ lasse mer nix [lassen wir nichts] zu leids thun; . . .

¹ Any place where liquor is retailed is called a saloon, and in a certain town a cabin with a single room is labeled DON JUAN WALLING'S SIGN EMPORIUM.

² 'You have removed' (your residence), but the third person plural is not thus used in PG.

³ G. ein gutes, but the Austrian extension *güt* is not PG.

⁴ Neuter for feminine, as in Bavarian and Austrian.

The next examples are condensed from journals of various localities, all printed in the German character. The spelling and use of italics as before.

Der Grosze Wohlfeile *Dry Goods Store*. Jetzt eröffnet: Direkt von New York; *Bärgens* in Weiszgütern und Ellenwaaren (*Dry Goods*), Gemischte *Mohairs*; Schöne *Dress Gingham*s; *Long Cloth* [another has Langes Tuch].

Country Orders werden mit *promptheit* ausgeführt . . . Groszhandels oder *Wholesale* Preisen zu *Retailen* oder einzelnen [others have "im groszen und kleinen," "Groz und Klein-Verkauf"] . . . *Ingrain* oder Blumiger *Kärpet*; . . . *Entry* und Treppen [stair] *Carpets*; *Cottage-Carpets*; *Floor Oel-Tücher* [another has Boden-Oeltücher]; *Marseilles* und *Honeycomb Quilts*; *Matting*, weisz und bunt.

Allgemeine *Stohrgüter*; Tücher für *Ladies Cloaks* [another has Damen *Cloakstoffe*]. . . *Ladies Dress-Goods* [others have *Dressgüter*, *Dress-Anzüge*, *Dresswaaren*]; *Fäncy-Waaren*; Ueberdecken; *Quilts* und Tisch-*Diapers*; *Napkins*; *Ticking* beim Stück; *Carriage Trimmings*; Extra grosze *goquille comfortables*; *Blänkets*; *Counter Paints* [counterpanes]; *Dry Goods* für Frühjahr und Sommer. Kein *Humbug*.

Millinery Waaren; *Ladies*-, *Misses*-, und Kinder *Stroh* und *Fäncy Bonnets* und *Flats*; *Corsetten*; *Hoops* [others have *Hoopsröcke*, and *Hoopskirts* in neuer *Shapes*]; *Haar Zöpfen*; *Rollen*; *Braids*; *Puffs*; *Dress-Trimnings*. Unsere "Fits" sind vollkommen. *Yankee-Notions* [another has *Notionen*]. *Shelfing* und *Counter* für einen *Stohr*.

Pelzwaaren jeder Art, . . . *Zobel*; *Chinchilla*; *Ermin*; *Siberien-Squirrel*; *Fitch*; *Wasser-Mink*.

Wholesale und *Retail* Händler in Aechten *Rye Whiskeys* von verschiedenen *Bränden*, *Ausländischen* und *Einheimischen Brändies*, *Weinen*, *Gin* [G. Wachholderbranntwein], feiner *Claret*, *Scotch Ale*, *Fäncy Liquors*, *Pine Apfel Syrup*, *Cherry Wein* und *Kirschen Brandy*, *Demijohns* und *Botteln* von allen *Größen*.

Neue *Scale Pianos*, mit eisernen Gestellen, *overstrung Base* und *Agraffe Bridge*. Ein schönes *Second Hand Piano*. Instrumenten zu groszen *Bürgen* . . . *Rotary Valve*¹ und *Side Action*¹ Instrumente [wind instruments].

Eisen-Store [*Eisen-Stohr*, *Hartewaaren*, *Haräwaaren*, *Eisenwaaren*] *Küchen Ranges*; Extra *Grätes*; *Furnaces*; *Bar-Room-Oefen*; *Air-Tight* und alle Sorten *Parlor Oefen*; *Heating-Oefen* [also *Heiz-Oefen*]; *Brilliant Gas Burner*; tragbare *Heaters*, und *Gasbrenner*; *Feuer-bricks*; *Springs*; *geforged* und *gerolltes eisen*; *Schäfting*; *Safes*; *Meisel* [properly *meiseln*] in *Setts*; *Razor Straps* und *Hones*; *pullys*; *Carvingmesser*, *Butschermesser*; *Varnish* [for *Firniss*]; Neues *Kohlenscreen*; *Boiler* von allen Sorten; *Brassarbeit*; *Kaffeemühlen* . . . verschiedene *Haushaltgeräthschaften* . . . welche *Retail* oder *Wholesale* zu den billigsten Preisen verkauft werden . . . Sie garantiren völlige *Satisfaction*.

Porzellan-Waaren Stohr: *Queenswaaren*; *Dinner Sets*; *Toilet Sets*; *Toy Thee Sets*; *Chamber Sets*; *Schüzeln* mit *Deckel*; *Bowlen* (*Bowls*) aller Arten; *Pitchers* aller Arten; *Suppen Tureens* . . . all die letzten *Styles* [*Styl* is also in use]. Ein groszer *Vorrath Waiters* und *Thee-Trays* . . . *Haus-Furnishing Waaren* . . . *Vasen* . . . *Chimney Tops*.

¹ These four words are printed in Roman type.

Schuhstore: *India-Rubber*, *Lasting* und *Button* Schuhe; hoch *polisch Gaiters* für frauen . . . *Kid* Schuhe . . . *Schlippers*.

Juwellen, *Watches* und Uhren auf Hand [also 'an Hand' for vorrätig]; *Watches* in goldenen und silbernen *Cases* [another has *Repeating-Taschenuhr*, for *Repetiruhr*]; *Watches-ketten*; Damen goldene *Bracelet Setts*; *Studs*; *Sleeveknöpfe*; *Messers* [for *Messer*].

Möbel-Waarenlager: Auswahl aller Arten Möbel . . . *Bureaus* [also *Büros*, *Büros*, *Büros*]; *Sideboards* [*Seidbord*, *Desk*]; *Dining-Tische*; *Lounges*; *Settees*; [also *Settees*]; *Wardrobes* [also Garderobe-Artikel, and Kleiderschrank, the proper term]. *Caneitz* Stühle; Fenster-blenden [and *Blinds*]; *What-Nots*; Spiegel mit Gold-*Främs*; *Springbetten* . . . *Parlor*, *Chamber*, und Küchen Möbeln . . . und alle andern Artikel welche in Möbel-*Stohrs* zu finden sind.

Bauholzhof [others have *Lumber-yard* and *Bretterhof*] . . . Alle Sorten von Bauholz wohl *geseasonet* [also vollkommen ausgetrocknet]; *Wetterboarding*; *Weiszpein* [for Fichte] und *Hemlock* [for Tanne] *Joists* und *Scütling* [another has *Hardwood Skütling*] jeder Größe; *Bill-Stuffs*; *Fenzstoffen* [for pl. stoffe, others have *Fensing* and *Fenzpfosten*]; *Flooring* [also Flurbretter]; *Panel Lumber*; *Poplarboards* [also Pappel]; *Pickets* [also *Pälings*, both for Pfähle] von allen längen.

Buchdruckerei . . . *Job* Schriften; *Programms*; *Circulars*; *Tickets*; *Karten*; *Blänks*; *Handbills*; *Pamphlete*; *Billheads*; . . . an seinem alten *Ständ*.

Oeffentliche *Vendu* [and *Vendue*—" *Vendue Creier* und Auktionär."] . . . Eine Bauerie [also *Farm*, and *Plantasche*] zu verkaufen . . . 110 Acker, 70 geklärt [and geklärt] gelegen in *Londonderry Taunship*, *Lebanon* [often *Libanon*] *County*, an der Strasse führend vom *Palmyra Landing*-Platze nach der *Jonestown Road*, grenzend an den *Lebanon Valley* Riegelweg [and Riegelweg—a verbal translation of *Railway*. Others have—"Es grenzt an die *Libanon Valley Rail Road*," and " *Libanon Thal Eisenbahn*."] 2 meilen vom *Stockyard* [location for cattle]. Die Verbesserungen sind ein grosses *weddergebordetes* [Eng. weather-boarded; another has " *Främ* Haus wettergebordet"] *Främhaus* [*Främscheuer*, *Bank-scheuer*, *Främ-Arbeitsshop*] neu tapeziert [papered] . . . mit fünf Stuben auf dem zweiten *Floor*; *Garret* [others have *Dachstube*, and *Dachzimmer*] Küche und Keller. Eine Cisterne [also *Cistern*] mit 33 *Hogsheads*; *Kohlenbin* unter dem *pävement* . . . Eine *Baulotte* [building lot of ground] 50 *Fusz front* [also—die *Fronte*, and *frontirend*.] *Schmiedschap* [*Wagenschoppen*]; *Wagensched* [zwei *Wagenschäde*] mit *Cribs* [and *Krippen*, *Welschkornkrieb*, *Kornkribbe*, *Kornkribb*]; *Logscheuer* [also *Block-Wohnhaus*, *Logfrämehaus*, *blöckernes Haus*]; mit *Stein Basement* [another has " *Stallhoch Steinmauer*"—the height of the stables of stone].

Das Land ist vom besten *Gravel* [also *Gravel-Land*, *Flint*, *Kalkstein*, *Kalchstein*, *Feuerstein*], und unter guten *Fenzen* [and *Fensen*, alles unter *Fenz*, gut eingefenz].—*Laufendes Wasser* geht durch den *Scheuerhof* [also *Scheueryard*]. Es ist bequem zu *Postofficen*, *Kirchen*, *Schulen*, *Mühlen*, *Stohres*, und *Handwerkern*.

Ein 6-jähriger brauner Gaul; . . . ein junges *Baypferd*; ein *Sorrelpferd*; ein *Fallingtop-Buggy*; ein *Rockaway*; ein *Springwagen* [*huckaterwagen*]; ein *Stohrwagen* mit drei *Springs*; eine *Sweep Power* Dreschmaschine; eine *Set Stüageschirr*; *Yankieschirr*; *Frontgeschirr* [for horses in front]. *Welsch-*

kornscheeller [also *Welschkornschäler*, *Welschkornscräper*, *Welschkornausmacher*, *handscheeller*]; *Schneidbox*; *Wagenbox* [and *Wagenbody*]; *Molasses-Faktry*; *Mückengeschirre* [*Fliegen-Geschirre*, *Fliegennetze*]; 1 *Lot Hausen's* [housing for horses]; *Windmühle*, [translation of windmill, for *Kornschwinge*]; 1 *Sink* [kitchen sink - bench]; *Martingales*; *Checkleinen*; *Cirkel-Säge* [another has *Circularsäge*] mit *Främ* und *Sträp*.

Einige Pflanzgrundbeeren von *Prince Alberts* Sorte.

CHAPTER VI.

SYNTAX.

The confusion of forms in the declension of German articles, pronouns, and adjectives, as given in print, is avoided in dialects, and on the upper Rhine all classes use the masculine nominative *der* for the accusative *den*, thus making a step towards rational grammar—the feminine *die* and the neuter *das* being equally nominative and accusative. According to Radlof, from Swisserland to Holland, on both sides of the Rhine, there is scarcely a locality where the nominative is distinguished from the accusative and the dative, and he cites as examples—“ich trinke rother Wein” (for *rothen*); “ich habe der Esel gesehen” (for *den Esel*); “ich sitze auf der Baum” (for *dem Baum*).¹ In PG. this *rother* for *rothen* is sometimes cut down to ‘root,’ the common PG. neuter form, particularly with the *definite* article, as in—

Ich trink d'r root wei,. I drink the red wine.

Was fr wei, wit [willst du] trinke? What kind of wine willst drink?

Ich trink tschenarli rooter wei,.¹ I 'generally' drink red wine.

¹ . . . “Von der Schweiz an zu beiden seiten des Rheines hinab bis an Hollands gränzen, giebt es kaum einige Gegenden, wo man den Koch vom Kellner, den Herrn vom Knechte, den Hammer vom Ambosze, d.i. den Verfall (*Nominativ*) vom Wenfalle (*Accusativ*) und dem Wemfalle (*Dativ*) richtig zu unterscheiden vermöchte. Bald hört man nehmlich: “ich trinke rother Wein” bald: “ich habe der Esel gesehen” bald: “ich sitze auf der Baum.” s.f.”—*Dr. Joh. Gottl. Radlof*, *Mustersaal aller deutschen Mund-arten*, . . . Bonn, 1822; 2, 90.

Stalder (Schweiz. Idiotikon, 1812) gives the accusatives of *der* and *ein* as agreeing with the nominative, and under *ein* (1, 37) he has,—Acc. wie der Nom., welches überhaupt zu bemerken ist.

[When I read extracts from this Treatise before the Philological Society on 3 June, 1870, Prof. Goldstücker and Dr. E. Mall, the latter an Alsatian, both considered that this presumed substitution of the nominative for the accusative or dative case must be a misapprehension. Dr. Mall declared himself totally unaware of it. Both considered that it must have resulted from the disappearance of the inflectional *-m*, *-n* (the latter of which is the rule certainly in the Rhine region), and the degradation of the preceding *e* vowel into *ə*. This would account for “ich trinke rother Wein,” considering *rother* to mean ‘rootə,’ but would not account for “ich habe der Esel gesehen,” in which the *r* must be taken as trilled, unless we consider that first *den* was made into ‘də,’ and then the ‘r’ evolved as in the Cockney’s ‘idea-r of things.’ Hence the original passages on which the assertions in the text are founded, have been added.—*Alex. J. Ellis*.]

G. Wir geben guten Lohn. PG. M'r gewwə guuter loo. *We give good wages.*
 .ən guuter freind (n guuti fraa, n guut haus) is n guut ding. *A good friend*
 (masc.), *wife* (fem.), *house* (neut.) *is a good thing* (neut.).

Seller mann het mei, huut alles ufgebroche. *That man has broken* (meinen)
my hat (alles auf) *all up*.

Ich bin naus in dər hoof un bin unserer kats uf dər schwants getrette,
 selli het mich gekratet. (Nsp.) *I went* (hinaus) *out, in* (G. den Hof, m.) *the*
yard, and trod on (G. den Schwanz) *the tail of our cat, she scratched me*.

. . . weil ich mich geschämmt hab, bin ich uf dər schpeicher geschniikt
 oone en wert tsu saaghe. (Nsp.) *While I shamed myself, I 'sneaked' up to* (den)
the loft without a word to say.

G. Das Wetter ist den ganzen Tag schön gewesen. PG. s wetter iss d'r gants
 (or gans) daak schee, gwest. *The weather has been fine the entire day*.

G. Ich gehe in den Keller. PG. Ich gee in dər keller. *I am going into the*
cellar.

In the next, *Stuhl* being masculine, the nominative *der* is
 used for the dative *dem*, but the accusative *ihn* ('n) is pre-
 served—

er het uf d'r schtuul k'hekt, un het n f'rbreche. *He sat on the chair and has*
broken it.

G. Liebe deinen Nächsten, als dich selbst. *Love thy neighbor as thyself*.
 PG. Liib dei, nochber ass wii dich selwer.

G. Lëgē das Buch auf dēn Tisch. *Lay the book on the table*. PG. Leeg s
 buch uf d'r tisch.

Here, if 'den tisch' were used in PG. it would rather mean
this table, because there is a tendency to use articles as
 demonstratives, saying 'dær' for G. *dieser*, and 'seller' (G.
 selbiger) for G. *jener*,—'sel' (G. selbiges) being its neuter, and
 'selli' (G. selbige) its feminine and plural. This 'sel' is
 found in Swisserland, and other parts of the Rhine region.
 Its Alsatian form *tset*, with initial *t*, shows that it is akin to
 G. *dasselbe*. Notwithstanding its resemblance in form and
 function to Provensal *sel* or *cel*, French *celui*, *celle*, they are
 without etymologic relation. See Ch. VII., § 2. p. 43, and § 4,
 p. 45; and *Ellis*, Early English Pronunciation, p. 662, note 15.

'Das' (the) and 'es' (it) have a tendency to confusion under
 the short form 's used for both. 'Dass' (that) remains, and

¹ "Dii Jarik Kaunti leit, wann sii fum rootə wei, schwätzə, saaghe g'weenlich
 —"Ich trink rooter wei," Wann sii awər kee rooter hen, dann trinke sii
 weisser wann sii n kriighe kenne." *The Rev. D. Ziegler*, letter of Jan. 15, 1870
 (literatim).

the neuter nominative article is changed from G. *das* to PG. 'des,' as in 'des buch' (the book)—but as 'des buch' may mean *this book*, the function of the article is performed by reducing this 'des' to 's, as in—

.s buch iss mei, *the book is mine*—des buch iss mei, *THIS book is mine*.

"Donn hab ich gedenkt [not *gedacht*], des is doch now ordlich plain deitsch," . . . (*Rauch*.¹) *Then I thought, THIS is at-any-rate 'now' tolerably 'plain' Dutch.*

Der mann iss kranker (not *kränker*) wie d'r annär. *THIS man is sicker than the other.* (G. als der andere.)

G. Ein Mann und eine Frau waren hier diesen Morgen. *A man and a woman were here this morning.* PG. Es war en mann un en fraa hiir den mörighe. *There was a man and a woman here this morning.*

G. Ich wünsche dass er komme. *I wish that he come.* PG. Ich wett (or wott, for *wollte*) dass ær deet [G. *thät*] kummæ. *I would that he would come.* Swiss—I wett, asz er chäm. *Stalder*, I, 112.

Swiss *asz* for *dass* is often used in PG., as in—

Wann ich geglaabt hätt 'ass er mich net betsaalt (or *betsaale deet*), so hätt ich 'm gar net gebärikt (or *gebaricht*). *If I had believed that he would not pay me, I would (gar nicht) not at all have (geborgt) trusted him.*

Wann ich gedenkt [not G. *gedacht*] hätt 'ass es net woor wæær, dann hätt ich 's net geglaabt. *If I had not supposed it to be true, I would not have (geglaubt) believed it.*

G. Wäre er reich, er würde nicht betteln. *Were he rich he would not beg.* G. Wenn er reich wäre, so würde er nicht betteln. PG. Wann ær reich wæær, deet ær net betteln. *If he were rich, he would not beg.*

PG., like Swiss,² dislikes the imperfect tense, and prefers G. *Ich habe gedacht* (I have thought), to G. *Ich dachte* (I thought), which gives forms like—

Wii ich n gese, hab, hab ich gedenkt ær wært k'sund. *As I saw him (having seen him) I thought he would get well.*

Ich bin gange *I have gone*; not G. Ich gieng *I went*, nor gegangen *ygone*.

Whan myn houfbond is fro the world i-gon,—*Chaucer*, (*Wright's ed.*) l. 5629.

With menftralcye and noyfe that was (y-)maked, l. 2526.

Bet is to be (y-)weddid than to brynne. l. 5634.

PG. has also 'kummæ' (has come) for G. *gekommen*, showing a tendency to follow a law which caused *ge-* (y-, i-) to be dropped in English. The practice seems to have started with

¹ In a spelling based upon English, and not fully phonetic. See *Ellis*, *Early English Pronunciation*, pp. 654–661.

² *Stalder* (I, 46) says that the imperfects *war*, *hatte*, *sagte*, *kam*, *ruft*, *kaufte*, would be scarcely understood in Switzerland.

gekommen and *gegangen*, because they are much used, and their initial guttural absorbs the guttural *g-* or *k-* of the prefix. In an Austrian dialect,¹ *ge-* disappears before *b*, *p*, *d*, *t*, *z*, as in "Ich bin kumma" (I have come), PG. Ich bin kummə.

PG. Ich hab s [G. gekauft] kauft im schtoor. *I bought it at the 'store.'*
Həscht mei, briif krikt? *Hast* (G. gekriegt) *received my letter?* Ich schreib n briif. *I write a letter.*

"Der Charle hat jung geheiert un D'r 'Tschærli' hat jung k'eiert un
hat e fleiszige Fra krickt," *Wollen-* hat e fleissighe fraa krikt.
weber, p. 78.

'Charley' married young and got an industrious wife.

G. Es regne. *It may rain.* PG. s maak (G. mag) reeghorə.

G. Es regnete. *It might rain.* PG. s kennt (G. könnte) reeghorə.

G. Es habe geregnet. *It may have rained.* PG. s kennt reeghe hawwə.

PG. has the Swiss *als* (hitherto, formerly, always), a form in which it is not shortened into *a's*, as in—

ær hat als ksaat ær wær (or wæær) miir niks schuldich. (*Ziegler*). *He has hitherto said he is to-me nothing indebted.*

Mr. Rauch, in his partly English spelling, has—

"Er hut aw behawpt das mer set sich net rula lussa bi seiner fraw, un das de weiver nix wissa fun denna sacha, un das es kens fun eara bisness is we an monn vote odder we oft er als drinkt."	ær hat aa behaupt dass mör set sich net 'ruule' lassa bei seiner fraa, un dass dii weiwær niks wissa fun denna sache, un dass es kens fun eere 'bissness' iss wii en mann 'woot,' oder wii oft ær als drinkt.
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He (has) maintained that one should not (lassen) let (sich) one's-self be 'ruled' by one's wife, and that the (weiber nichts wissen) women know nothing of such things, and that it is (keines von ihre) none of their 'business' how a man 'votes,' or how oft he (als) ALWAYS drinks.

In the following Suabian example (Radlof 2, 17) *als* is a form of G. alles (all), and *schmieren* is used as in PG. for *to pay off, to trick*.

Kurz! i will ells eba macha Dafz oim 's Herz im Leib mu'fz lacha; I will au de Tuifel schmiera, Dafz er Niemá kan verführa, Hack' ihm boyde Hörner o, Dafz er nimma ftecha ka-.	In short, I will make all so even that the heart in one's body must laugh; I will also trick [den] the devil. that he none can lead astray— chop for him both his horns off that he cannot thrust again.
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PG. 'dass' for *als* (with the sense of *as*), and 'dass wan' G. *als wenn* (South German of Breisgau *as wenn*) for *as if*, seems peculiar. The German adverbial particles admit of a

¹ Castelli, Wörterbuch, Wien, 1847, p. 30.

wide range of meaning, and in Low Austrian certain inversions occur, as *aussa* (aus-her) for G. *heraus*; *aussi* (aus-hin), also in old Bavarian, for G. *hinaus*, which would allow PG. 'dass' to be referred to *als dass* or *da(r)als*.¹ But independently of this surmise, the cutting down of the pronouns *des* (G. *das*) and *es* to 's, and *als* to *ass*, makes it as easy to accept *dass* for *als*, as 'd of English 'I 'd rather,' for *had* instead of *would*. Farther, as *da* has *als* for one of its meanings, this *dass* may be *da* with the adverbial suffix -s.²

'des land is aw frei for mich so goet . . . des land is aa frei f'r mich soo
das for dich."—*Rauch*, p. 32. guat dass f'r dich.

This (not the) country is (auch) also free for me as well as for thee.

"net wennicher dos sivva hunnert . . . net wennicher dass siwə hunert
for dich un mich" . . .—*Rauch*, 1869. f'r dich un mich.

Not less THAN seven hundred for thee and me.

"Er will hawa dos ich bei eam .ær will hawə dass ich bei iim
aw roof in Fildelfy, un dut dos aa,ruuf in Fildelfi, un duut dass
wanns tsu meiner advantage wær wann s tsu meiner 'atfentsich' wær
wann ich kumm."—*Rauch*, Aug. 16, '69. wann ich kumm.

*He will have that I (bei) at-the-house-of him [G. anrufen, perverted to an English idiom] call-on in Phildelphi [the common pronunciation] and (he) does as if it (were) would be to my 'advantage' if I come.*³

"Selly froke hut mich awer sheer gorly Selli frook het mich schÿr gaarli
schwitza macha, un ich hob g'feeld schwitə mache, und ich hab kfiilt
yusht grawd das wann ich mich juscht graad dass wann ich mich
full heaser hulder tæ g'suffa het un fæl heesær hulder tee kseffə het un
g'mixd mit tansy, katzakraut un beb- 'gmikst' mit 'tænsi' [s not as s] kat-
bermint."—*Rauch*, Aug. 9, 1869. sækraut un 'bebbermint.'

[Dieselbe Frage] *That question however almost [G. gar] quite made me sweat, and I felt just exactly as if I had (G. gesoffen) drunk myself full of hot (G. Holder) elder tea, and 'mixed' with 'tansy' catnip and 'peppermint.'*

"s scheint m'r wærklich as wann du im sinn hätscht in deine alte daaghe
noch a Dichter tsu gewə (tsu wærrə). Awær ich færricht 's iss tsu schpot; du
hätscht e paar joer friier aa,fange selle, dann wær villeicht ebbes drans [G.
worden] warro." ⁴ *It appears to me really as if you intended in your old days
yet to become a poet. But I fear it is too late; you should have commenced a few
years earlier, then perhaps something might have come of it.*

¹ Suabian condenses *da unten* to *dunda*. The Rev. D. Ziegler suggests that this 'dass' may have arisen from a *d*, as of 'grad' (G. gerade) before 'as' of *als*, as in—ær schwätzt grad as wann [G. wenn] ær reich wær. (He speaks just as if he were rich.) ² See *Hald. Affixes*, p. 213.

³ The present tense ('wann ich kumm') is used here for the G. subjunctive *wenn ich käme*.

⁴ The Rev. D. Ziegler, transliterated by himself.

The next is from the description of a willow-tree with the 'nesht' (pl. of G. *nast*¹) branches broken by ice.²

"Er gukt net gans so stattlich meh,	ær gukt net gans soo schtattlich mee
Er gukt net gans so gross un' schoe	ær gukt net gans soo gross un' schee,
D a s wie er hut die anner woch	dass wii ær het dii anar woch
Wu'r all sei nesht hut katte noch."	wuu 'r all sei, nescht het katte noch.

It (nicht mehr) no more looks quite so stately, it looks not (ganz) quite so large and fine, AS THAT it did the (andere) other week, (wo er where he) when it (hat gehabt) has had all its boughs.

At present PG. is exhibiting a tendency to drop G. *zu* (to), the sign of the so-called infinitive, altho in the following examples perhaps most speakers would use it.

Wann fangscht aa, [tsu] schaffe? *When do you begin [to] work?*
 Ich hab aa fange schaffe. *I have begun (to) work.*
 . . . fiil anneri hen hart prowiirt sich farne naus schaffe. (*Rauch.*)
Many others (have) tried hard (to) work themselves (G. vorn) forward.

¹ The usual German is *ast*, pl. *äste*. Schmeller (*Mundarten Bayerns*, art. 610) notices the following examples of this initial *n* in Bavarian dialects; his phonetical spelling is given in italics, and interpreted into the present in brackets: der *Nä'n* [Noon] 'Athen: *Näst* [nost] *Ast*; die *Näf'n* [noozn] 'A'sen; [*Naff'i* [nassl] *Assel*; *Närb* [narb] *Arb*; *Neichté* [neichte] *Eichte*; *Nuuro'* [Nuore] *Urhab*; *Nuesch* [Nuesch] *Uesch*. In art. 546 he also gives the form *e Luesch*, and in art. 636, the form *e~Rdufn*, for *Uesch*, a gutter, and 'A'sen, a beam or joist. *Närb* is the staple on the door, which carries the padlock; *Eichté* is a little while. The following are examples of omitted initial *n*, (ib. art. 611); *der 'Apoleon* *Napoleon*; *'ido* *nider*, 'Ankinet *Nanquinet*; 'Impfo' *burg* *Nymphenburg*; ganz 'atürk' *natürlich*; 'eben, 'ebm *neben*; 'acher, 'achs' *nachher*; 'Est, 'ist *Nest*. St. Antwein und St. Nantwein, Aventin Chron. Edit. v. 1666, fol. 470.—Compare the English added initial *n* in *nickname* (nekename for ekename, see Pr. Parv.), *niggot*, *nugget* for *ingot*; *newt* for *eft*, *ewt*; *nawl* for *awl*; *nunkle* for *uncle*; *Nan*, *Ned*, *Noll*, for *Anne*, *Edward*, *Oliver*:—and the omitted initial *n* in *adder* (old *edres* and *neddres*), *apron* for *napron*, *eyas* for *nias*.—*A. J. Ellis*.

² Poems. By Rachel Bahn. York, Pa. 1869. Containing twenty pages of "Poems in Pennsylvania Dutch." Noticed by me in Trübner's *American and Oriental Literary Record*, Jan. 24, 1870, p. 634. The following may be consulted also:

Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben . . . von L. A. Wollenweber. Philadelphia und Leipzig. Schäfer und Koradi, 1869.

Harbaugh's Harfe. Gedichte in Pennsylvanisch-Deutscher Mundart. Philadelphia, Reformed Church Publication Board, 1870.

On the German Vernacular of Pennsylvania. By S. S. Haldeman. Trans. Am. Philological Association, 1869-70.

Lancaster Pa. WEEKLY ENTERPRISE (newspaper), with a weekly article by Mr. Rauch.

Der Waffenlose Wächter (monthly newspaper). Gap P.O., Lancaster Co. Pa. Early English Pronunciation, . . . by Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., F.S.A. London, 1871. Twelve pages (652-65) are devoted to Pennsylvania German.

P'älzische G'schichte' . . . von Franz von Kobell. München, 1863. In the main, this little volume of 'Palatinate Stories' comes nearer to Pennsylvania German than any other I have seen.

"De mæd . . . hen kea so kleany Dii meed hen kee, soo klee,ni
 bonnets g'hat di nix sin for hitz 'bannets' katt dii niks sin f'r hitz
 odder kelt; es wara rechtshaffene ød'r kelt; øs waare rechtschaffene
 bonnets, das mer aw sea hut kenne 'bannets,' dass m'r aa sees het kenne,
 ohna de brill uf du."—*Nep.* oone dii brill uf [tsu] duu,.

The girls (haben gehabt) had no such small 'bonnets' (die) which are nothing for heat or (kälte) cold; there were honest 'bonnets' that (mir) one (auch) also could see without putting the spectacles on.

PG. Sometimes distinguishes between the present tense and the aorist, as in Swiss—"er thuot choh" (he does come)—

Sellor hund knarrt. *That dog growls (has a habit of growling).*

Sellor hund tuut (G. thut) knarrø. *That dog is now growling.*

D'r mann tuut essa—ær iss am essa. *The man is eating—he is at eating.*

PG. does not use equivalents to *neither* and *nor*.

G. Er ist weder reich noch arm. *He is neither rich nor poor.* PG. ær iss net reich un net aarm.

E. He is either sick or lazy. PG. ær iss krank ødør faul. (Or, adopting *either* and its idiom) ær iss 'iitør' krank ødør faul.

In a case like the last, no matter how well the speaker knows English, he must *not* pronounce a word like 'either' in the English mode, because it would be an offense against the natural rhetoric of the dialect.

CHAPTER VII.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER DIALECTS.

§ 1. PG. *not* Swiss.

PG. is not Swiss, altho it has a number of Swiss characteristics, and the line (Radlof, 2, 68)—

“Was isch säll für e sufere kärli?”

is very near its PG. form—

Was isch sel fr e sauber kärli? *What sort of cleanly fellow is that?*

PG. has both ‘ær iss’ and ‘ær isch’ (he is) according to the locality, of which the latter may be less common. The Rev. D. Ziegler (a native, like myself) refers the ‘isch’ variety to the Mennonite and Dunker population, and as there were many Dunkers (or Tunkers) where my early years were passed, I heard more of this than of the other.

The indicative mood present tense of *haben* and *sein* are, with some variations, as follows (Stalder, 1, 47–50)—

Swiss.	PG.	Swiss.	PG.
i hah;	ich hab, hap, <i>I have.</i>	i bi;	ich bin, <i>I am.</i>
de hest;	du hæscht, <i>thou hast.</i>	de bisch, bist;	du bischt, <i>thou art.</i>
er hed, hett;	ær het, <i>he has.</i>	er isch, ist;	ær iss, isch, <i>he is.</i>
mer hend;	m'r hen, <i>we have.</i>	mer sind;	m'r sin, <i>we are.</i>
der hend;	d'r hent, <i>you have.</i>	der sind;	d'r sint, <i>you are.</i>
sj hend;	sii hen, <i>they have.</i>	sj sind;	sii sin, <i>they are.</i>

Here the dative singular *mir* (to me) is used in the nominative plural instead of *wir* (we), and also in impersonal expressions; and the dative singular *dir* (to thee) is similarly used for *Ihr* (you), as in ‘d'r sint’ for G. *Ihr seid* (you are). G. *Ihr habet* (you have) has forced its *t* upon the first and third persons plural of the Swiss forms; and in PG. the second person is sometimes forced upon the third, as in the following, from the Wollenweber’s *Gemälde* (in the German character), 1869, p. 124,—

For about 32 Jahr z'rick, 'Frebaut' tswee-un-dreissich joor tsrik,
do hent unsre . . . Schaffleut do hent unsre . . . schaffleit . . .
...im Stenbruch geschafft, un sten im schtee,bruch geschafft, un schtee,
gebroche, for de grosze Damm zu gebröche f'r di grosse 'damm' tsu fixe.
fixe.

'For about' thirty-two years back, here have our laborers worked in the quarry, and quarried stone to 'fix' the big 'dam.' (Here the English fix and dam are used, instead of G. fixiren, and der damm.)

Here the first *for* may be regarded as English, but the second occurs in the Palatinate—"for den Herr Ring sehr ungünstig" (Kobell), *for Mr. Ring very unfavorable*—"for sei Lügerei,"—*for his truthlessness.*

The next is extracted from a poem by Tobias Witmer, dated from the State of New York, June 1, 1869, printed in the 'Father Abraham' English newspaper, in roman type, and reprinted Feb. 18, 1870. The original spelling is that of Mr. Rauch, and is not reproduced. Dialectic words are spaced, and English words are here put in *italics>.* The translation is rather free.

Geburts-Daak—An mei, Alt.

Oo wass is schennar uf der welt
dass blimlin, root un weiss?

un bloo un geel,¹ im ærble² felt
wass sin sii doch so nets!

Ich wees noch guut, in seller tseit
hab ich niks liiwers duu,³

dass in dii wisse—lang un breit
so blimlin ksuucht wii duu.

Doch iss æs schun e lang-i tseit
sid'r ich dart in dem felt,

dii blimlin ksuucht, uf lang un breit,
un uf dei, *bussom* kschpellt.

D'r hent emool e gærtl kat—
mei, schwesterli un duu; [schpaat

ich hab s *pripeerd* mit hak un
dii blumme nei, tsu duu;]

un wuu ich hab im grossi schweel,
dii kii dart hinne ksuucht,

Birthday—To my Wife.

Oh what is finer in the world
than flowrets red and white?

and blue and yellow in the field
how beautiful and bright.

I know yet well that in that time,
nought would I rather do,
than in the meadows long and wide
such flowrets seek as you.

Yet it is quite a lengthened time,
since I in yonder field,
sought out the flowers far and wide,
and on thy bosom pinned.

You also had a garden bed—
you and my sister fair,
which I prepared with hoe and spade
to set the flowers there;
and where I in the ample vale⁴
the cattle there had sought,

¹ G. gelb, Ohg. gelo, Swiss, etc., gäl *yellow*.

² Not PG. ærpsæ, G. erbsen (peas), but a form of *erdbeere* (strawberry).

³ G. Ich habe nichts lieber gethan. (G. adj. and adv. *lieber*, adverbialised with -s.) *Nothing would I rather have done.*

⁴ The word is "schwæhl" in the original—probably borrowed from the local English word *swale*. Wuu, G. wo, *where*. The author was born in 1816, at Niagara, in a small colony which had emigrated from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania—his father in 1811. The colony received additions about the year 1830.

dii leedi-schlippers, weiss un geel,
 hab ich mit, heem gebracht,
 un hab sii in sel gærtli plantet
 bei nacht, in muundæ licht: [*wantst* ¹
 d'r hent s net gwist, bis juseht æt
 hent diir s geegst s war mich.

the lady-slippers, gold, and pale,
 with me I homeward brought,
 and in that garden bed at night
 I set them when the moon was light.
 You did not know who it could be,
 but all at once you thought of me.

§ 2. PG. not Bavarian.

PG., Bavarian, Austrian and Suabian have the vowel of *fall*, and nasal vowels. In Pangkofer's *Gedichte in Altbayerischer Mundart*, are the PG. words 'aa' also; 'bissel' a little; 'ebbas,' G. etwas something; 'do is' there is; 'glei' (also Austrian) soon; 'sunst,' G. sonst besides; 'frummi,' G. fromm kind; 'kloo' claw; 'kumma,' G. gekommen come; Ohg. 'coman' and 'cuman' to come; 'mir' we, for G. wir; 'sel,' G. dasselbe that-same; but PG. has not 'mi' me; 'di' thee; 'hoarn' horn; 'hout' has; 'thuan' to do; 'g'spoasz,' sport; 'oamal' once; 'zwoa' two, G. zwei, PG. 'tswee'; wei, PG. 'weip' wife; zon, PG. 'tsum' to the.

The following example of upper Bavarian is given by Klein,² beside which a PG. version is placed for comparison.

"Schau, nachbe', wæs mei' freud' is,—
 In suntæ', in der früe,
 Gern lûs' i' in mei'n gâart'l
 'n kircheläut'n zue.

Sii nochbær wass mei, freet iss!
 Am sundaak marrghe frii,
 Gærn hæær³ ich in mei,m gærtli
 Dii kærcha-belle hii.⁴

"Dà is 's so still und hæemli',
 Kæe' lärm, kæe g'schræe kimmt 'nei':
 In'n himmi kà's nit schöner
 W' as in mei'n gâart'l sei."

Do 's iss so schtill un heemlich,
 Kee, jacht, kee, kschrei kummt nei,;
 Im himml kann s net schæe,ner
 Wii s in mei,m gærtli sei.

See neighbor, what my joy is, on Sunday in the morn; I listen in my garden, to the church-bell ring. Here it is so still and calm, no turmoil, no strife comes within; in heaven (kann es nicht) it cannot be fairer than (es) it is in my little garden.

¹ = at once. Dr. Jones, 1701, gives 'wæns, wænst' as the English pronunciation in Shropshire and some parts of Wales. Buchanan, 1766, gives 'wæns' as correct English.—A. J. Ellis.

² Die Sprache der Luxemburger. Luxemburg, 1856.

³ This word varies to heer, and horch may be used.

⁴ Here hii, is given for the rhyme, the proper word being G. da, PG. 'doo.' On this account the Rev. D. Ziegler makes the following variation on my version—

Sii noochbær was mei, freet iss,
 Wann ich im gærtli schtee,
 Gærn heer ich frii am sundaak
 Dii kærchabelle geh.

§ 3. PG. *not Suabian*.

The Pennsylvania Germans have traditional stories against the Suabians, although their population is in part derived from the upper (Pfalz) Palatinate; and some Suabians settled in Northumberland County, Pa., the evidence of which remains in the name of a stream, *Schwaben* (or *Swope*) Creek.

PG. resembles Suabian in using 'e, ee' for ö, and 'ii' for ü—in the loss of infinitive -n,—in turning final -n into a nasal vowel (as in *sei*, for *seyn*), and in saying 'du bischt,' 'du kannscht,' etc. (for G. *du bist*), 'du witt' for *du willst*; 'nimme' for *nicht mehr*; 'glei' for *gleich* in the sense of *soon*—but the adjective 'gleich' (similar) remains. PG. does not turn *o* into *au*, as in Suabian '*braut*,' '*hauch*,' for *brot*, *hoch*; nor cut down G. *ich habe* to '*i ha*'; it does not add elements, as in '*bois*' for G. *bös*, PG. '*bees*,' '*bluat*' for G. *blut*, '*reacht*' for *recht*, '*kuine*' for *keine*, and '*stuinige fealder*' for *steinige felder*, a peculiarity of Suabian, Alsatian, Swiss, Bavarian and its kin Austrian. PG. has archaic '*hees*' (hot) for G. *heisz*, but nothing like Bavarian *haas*.

Difference of pronunciation causes confusion of speech between speakers of different dialects, as shown by Dr. Rapp in his *Physiologie der Sprache*, 4, 131. In the '*Fliegende Blätter*' (13, 158) there is a dialogue called '*Ein Deutsch-Böhme*' (a German Bohemian), between a *Bauer* and a *Städter*—but a Swiss speaker is now added, with the rejoinder to his remark.

Bauer. Wie is de Suppe so häsz!

Städter. Man sagt ja nicht häsz, sondern heisz. Has [G. hase, PG. haas *hare*] nennt man das Thier. . . .

Bauer. Dös häszt bei uns Hös!

Städter. Das ist wieder falsch. Hös bedeutet jenes Kleidungsstück, womit Eure langen Beine bedeckt sind.

Bauer. Dös häszt Hus!

Schweitzer. Aber mer sind jets im Huus.

Bauer. Dös iss 'n Haus!

Diminutives in PG. and Suabian are made with -li; both use 'des' for *das*, 'uffm' for *auf dem*, 'biüre' for *birnen*, 'g'hat' or 'kat' for *gehabt*, 'suu' for *sohn*, 'schoof' for *schäuf*, 'Schwop' for *Schwäbe*, 'als' for *alles*, and 'as' for *als*.

§ 4. PG. *not Alsatian*.

In the very German county of Berks there is an Elsass township, which indicates an Alsatian influence. As a German province of France,¹ two languages are in use, and are taught in the schools, but the French is Germanised in pronunciation, as may be verified among the Alsatian and German servants of Paris. Being akin to Swiss and Suabian, PG. has some points in common with this dialect, without being influenced by French.

Alsatian differs from PG. in having *i haa* for 'ich hab,' *tsel* for 'sel' (G. *derselbe*), *bluet* for 'bluut,' *üss* for 'aus,' *hüs* for 'haus,' *tsiit* for 'tseit,' *bisch* for 'bischt,' *biim* for 'bei'm,' *morje* for 'marrghæ.'

PG. and Alsatian turn some *b*-s to *w*, they have the vowels of *fall*, *what*, *up*, and have 'prowiire' for *probiren*, 'ass' for *als*, 'do' for *da*, 'joo' for *ja*, 'joor' for *jahr*, 'hoor' for *haar*, 'fun' for *von*, 'isch' for *ist*, 'jets' for *jetzt*, 'uff' for *auf*, 'druff' for *dorauf*, 'uff'm' for *auf dem*, 'raus' for *daraus*, 'draan' for *daran*, 'iwwer' for *über*, 'dno' for *darnach*; PG. 'öffæ,' Alsat. 'offæ,' G. *ofen*; 'bal' for *bald*, 'm'r' for *wir*, 'm'r muss' for *man muss*, 'mee' for *mehr*, 'welli' for *welche*; 'was batt s' (what boots it).

The following lines (Radlof, 2, 110) are extracted from a piece of Alsatian which well illustrates the concurrent use of two languages. The French should be read in the German mode. Other French words occur in Radlof's examples, such as *allong allons*, *tur tour*, *schalu jaloux*, *anterpoo entrepôt*, *bangenet baïonnette*. The original of the following is in German (gothic) and French (roman) print according to the lan-

¹ This was written before the Franco-German war which re-annexed Alsatia to Germany. When I read out the first example in Chapter VIII. (*Wider aa.geschmiirt*), to the Philological Society, on communicating this paper, 3 June, 1870, Dr. E. Mall, an Alsatian, who was present, remarked that it reminded him throughout of his native dialect, of which he thoroughly recognized the pronunciation. I may remark that I have never heard PG. pronounced, although I have heard Austrian, Saxon, Rhenish, Bavarian, and Swiss dialects, and read solely by the phonetic orthography here given.—*A. J. Ellis*.

guage, here imitated by roman and italic types. The speaker is telling a friend how she was addressed by a stranger :

So kummt ä Wälscher her, und macht mit Kumblemente,
Und redt mich gradzu an.—Mach er kein Spargemente,¹
Hab i glich zu ihm g'sait. Losz Er, was ich 'ne bitt,
Mich mine Waih fortgehn ; ich kenn de Herre nit.
„Sans avoir, front er mich, l'honneur de vous connaître,
„Vous êtes seule ici, voulez-vous me permettre
„De vous offrir mon bras pour vous accompagner ?
Allez, Mousié, sa ich, allez-vous promener,
Und spar Er sich die müh ; Er musz sich nit trumpire,
Ich bin von dene nit die mer am Arm kann führe.²
„Vous êtes bien cruelle, arrêtez un moment,
Sait er, und kummt soglich mit sine Santimang. . . .
Zu diene, hab i g'sait ; losz Er mich aber gehn,
Min Ehr erlaubt mir nit noch länger do zu stehn.
„Je n'insisterai pas, mais veuillez bien m'apprendre,
„Si demain en ces lieux vous daignerez vous rendre.
Behüt mich Gott davor ! i gib kein rendez-vous.
Adié, mousié, adié, je ne vus [sic] verrai plus.

Translation.—Thus comes a Frenchman up and proceeds with compliments, and (an-redet) accosts me (gerade zu) directly. Make no formalities,¹ I said to him at once. Let me, what I beg ('ne, G. ihn) him, continue (meinen weg) my way—I know not the (herren) gentlemen. “*Without having,*” he (frägt) asked me, “*the honor of knowing you, you are alone here, will you permit me to offer you my arm to accompany you ?*” Go, sir, (sagte) said I, *Proceed with your walk*—and spare himself the trouble ; he must not deceive himself, I am not of those who can be conducted on the arm.² “*You are very cruel, stay a moment,*” says he—and comes at once with his sentiment. . . . At your service, I said, he should let me go, my honor would not allow me to stand there longer. “*I do not insist, but will you kindly inform me, if to-morrow in these places you will deign to return.*” Preserve me heaven from it ! I give no rendez-vous ; adieu, sir, adieu, I will not see you more.

§ 5. PG. is akin to several South German Dialects.

Like *Suabia*, the name of *Pfalz* has disappeared from the map of Europe, and what was once the Lower Palatinate, is now to be looked for chiefly in Baden, Bavaria, and Darmstadt.

¹ F. E. Petri (Handbuch der Fremdwörter, 1845) explains *Spargiment* or *Spargement* as “ein ausgestreutes Gerücht, Ausgesprenge, Geträtsch oder Gerede ; Aussprengeisel,” in short, *gossip* or *idle talk*, evidently from Latin *spargere*.—*A. J. Ellis*.

² Compare Goethe's *Faust*—

Faust. Mein schönes Fräulein, darf ich wagen,
Meinen Arm und Geleit Ihr anzutragen ?

Margarete. Bin weder Fräulein, weder schön,
Kann ungeleitet nach Hause gehn.—*A. J. E.*

It was partly bounded by Alsatia, Baden, and Württemberg, and Manheim was the chief city. A few examples, condensed from Kobel, will show the nearness of its dialect to PG.

So nehmt er dann desz Album desz uff 'm Tisch gelege is. *So takes he then the album that is laid on the table.* So is 'm glei' ei'gfalle'. *So it soon happened to him.* Guck emol, do is er, mer kennt 'n. *Look once, here he is, one knows him.* Wei is er dann do drau kumme? *How then has he come?* Desz will ich Ihne sage. *That I will tell you.* Mer hot nix mehr vun 'm g'hört. *Nothing more has been heard of him.* Mir habe [PG. mr hen] alls minanner 'gesse. *We ate all together.* Juscht am selle Tag is e' Gascht a'kumme. *Precisely on that day a guest arrived.* Mit eme finschtre' Gesicht. *With a dark face.* Saaha macha for die Leut. *To make things for people.* Bsunners especially; ghat had; drbei thereby; schun already; sunscht nix besides nothing; drvun thereof; eens one; zwee two; keens none; unner under; druff on; johr year; woht true; kummt rei [PG. rei] come in; ne no; jetz' now; gedenkt supposed; fraa woman; kopp head; weesz knows; meeschter master; e' gut' kind a good child.

The South German dialect of Breisgau has G. *er hilft* (he helps, PG. *ær helft*), *g'seit* (as in Alsatia) for *gesagt*, PG. 'ksaat,' *us* for G. and PG. 'aus,' *i* for *ich*, *herrli* for *herrlich*, (PG. *hærrlich*), *wön* for *wollen*, *sît* (as in Alsatia) for *seit*, *aue* for *augen* (eyes, PG. *aughe*, Alsat. *auē*), *de* for *du*, *gen* for *gegeben* (given, PG. *gewwē*, sometimes suppressing *ge-*, to which attention has been called). Besides *gen*, the following Allemanic example (Radlof, 2, 99) contains *wore* for *geworden*, and *uskratzt* for *ausgekratzt*—

"Se han kurzwiit un Narrethei triebe, un am End isch der Hirt keek wore, un het em Mümmele e Schmützle gen, un se het em seldrum d'Aue nit uskratzt."

They trifled and fooled, and finally the shepherd (ist keek geworden) became bold, and (hat gegeben) gave (dem) to the water nymph a kiss, and she did not (dasselbe darum) on-that-account ('em' for ihm) scratch out his eyes.

In the following examples, the Breisgauish and PG. are probably more nearly allied than might be supposed from a comparison of the spelling. The Alsatian and PG. are in the same alphabet.

German.	Breisgau.	Alsace.	PG.	English.
regenbogen,	regeboge,	râjebâu-e,	reeghæboogha,	rainbow.
wo, von,	wu, vun,	wuu, fun,	wuu, fun,	where, of.
da, mal,	do, mol,	doo, mool,	doo, mool,	here, times.
schaf,	schof,	schoof,	schoof,	sheep.
schlafen,	schlofe,	schloofs,	schloofs,	to sleep.
und, gelt,	un, gel,	un, gel,	un, gel,	and, truly!
wohnen,	wuhne,	woona,	wuuna,	to reside.
kommen,	kumme,	kumma,	kumma,	to come.
gesehen,	g'sehne,	g'sên,	kseepa,	seen.
jahr, auch,	johr, au,	joor, au,	joor, aa,	year, also.
nachbar,	nochber,	nochber,	nochber,	neighbor.
nicht, nichts,	nit, nix,	net, niks,	net, niks,	not, nothing.
selbiger,	seller,	tseller,	seller,	that one.

<i>German.</i>	<i>Breisgau.</i>	<i>Alsace.</i>	<i>PG.</i>	<i>English.</i>
es ist jetzt,	's isch jetz,	es isch jeta,	s isch jeta,	<i>it is now.</i>
etwas,	ebbes,	eppæ,	ebbæ, eppæ,	<i>something.</i>
nummehr,	nummee,	(nimme),	nummi,	<i>now.</i>
darunter,	runter,	(nunter),	runter,	<i>under.</i>
als, einem,	as, eme,	as, oma,	as, ma,	<i>as, to a.</i>
man kann,	mer kann,	m'r kann,	mər kann,	<i>one can.</i>
sie haben,	sie hen, han,	sii haan,	sii hen,	<i>they have.</i>
wir sind,	mer sin,	m'r sin,	m'r sin,	<i>we are.</i>
weiszt,	wescht,	weischt,	weescht,	<i>knowest.</i>
das, hat,	des, het,	des, hot,	des, hot,	<i>the, has.</i>

In the next three lines of Breisgauish (Radlof, 2, 95) words which agree more or less with PG. are in italic—

"*Do isch au kei Plätze meh,*
Wu i könnt mi Haupt' hinlege,
Wenn i vun der Arbet geh."

Here is also no spot more,
 where I might my head repose,
 when I from my work depart.

The following (Radlof, 2, 92) is also in the Breisgau dialect:

Siehsch de, Kind, de Regeboge, . . .
 Gel, das isch e Pracht vun Farbe, . . .
 Nqeh het jetz mit de Sine
 E Johannisfrie g'macht,
 Un in Herrlikeit un Pracht
 Isch der Herr debi erschine,
 Un zum Noeh het er g'sproche:
 Guck, e Zeiche setz i fest,
 Wil de Fride mit mer hest,
 's Wort des hab i niemol broche
 Un de Herr het's Wort au g'halte,
 Den der Regeboge steht,
 Wenn Gott au im Wetter geht,
 Un er loszt de Zorn nit walte.

Seest thou child the rainbow, . . .
 truly it is a glory of color, . . .
 Noah has now with (the) his [people]
 made a (midsummer) Johannes-fire²
 and in splendor and glory
 the Lord (dabei) thereat appeared,
 and to Noah has he spoken:
 Behold, a sign I firmly set [me,
 whilst thou (hast) keepst peace with
 the word—that have I never broken
 and the Lord has the word also kept,
 for the rainbow stands
 whenever God goes in the tempest,
 and he (läszt) allows not (den) the
 [anger to rule.

¹ Scarcely PG., 'kəp' (G. kopf) being used.

² See Pulleyn's Etym. Compendium, 1853, at BONE-FIRES. [See also, Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. 567-597, for fires generally, and pp. 583-593, for these Midsummer fires in particular.—A. J. Ellis.]

CHAPTER VIII.

EXAMPLES.

§ 1. *Wiider aa.geschmiirt.*

¶ 1. Dass dii meed en wunnerbaarere schteff sin, wen [wann?] sii f'r menne ausgruke, wærd iir aa schun ausgefunne hawæ. Sii sin so schlipperich wii en fisch, un wan m'r meent m'r hätt eens fescht, dan knabbert 's schun an ner annere ang'l.

TRICKED AGAIN.—*That the maidens are a wondrous matter if they (ausgucken) look out for husbands (werdet Ihr) will you (auch) also have (schon) already discovered. They are as slippery as a fish, and when one supposes (subjunctive er hätte) he might-have one fast, (it nibbles) there is already nibbling at (einer andern) another hook.*

¶ 2. Ich hab eich do schun foor 'sæm' tseit tsrik f'rtseelt, wii ich mit d'r 'Hænne' ei,kummæ bin, un was f'r 'kælkøleesch'nss' dass ich gemacht hab f'r n 'schtoor' uftsusétse an dem alti Schniipikl seiner kreits-schtross.

I have recounted (euch) to you here 'some' time ago, how I paid attentions to 'Hannah,' and the 'calculations' that I made to set up [an English idiom] a 'store' at old Schniepickel's Crossroads.

¶ 3. 'Well,' selli tseit hab ich mich bei d'r 'Hænne' wiischt aa.geschmiirt gefunne (kfunne), f'r ich hab gemeent, dass sii niimand sunscht 'gleiche,' un liiwer drei moonat lang gebrootene ratte fressæ deet, wii an eenigher annere kærل tsu denke—

'Well,' that time I found myself badly¹ tricked with 'Hannah,' for I believed that she 'liked' nobody else, and (thät lieber fressen) would rather devour fried rats three months long, than to think on any other fellow ;

¶ 4. un dii 'seem' tseit hat sii dem 'Sæm' Hinnerbee, 'kumpanii' gewwe, un tsu anneri ksaat, sii wett sich liiwer ufhenke un

¹ A Swiss use of the G. wüst (waste, confused, wild).

d'r hals mit d'r hals-seeg apschneide, as so en alt 'griinharn' wii mich heiere.

and the 'same' time she gave 'Sam' Hinterbein 'company,' and said to others, she would rather hang herself and cut off the neck with the wood-saw (als) than to marry such an old greenhorn as me.

¶ 5. Du kannecht diir denke, dass mich sel f'rtsernt het un dass ich mei, 'plæns' weeghe schtoorhalte an dem kreitsweek pletalich ge-ennert hab.

You can imagine to yourself that that (verzürnt) angered me, and that (plötzlich) suddenly I (habe geändert) changed my plans about storekeeping at the Crossway.

¶ 6. Ich hab mich dann en bissl rúmgegúkt un gefúnne dass drewæ an d'r 'Passøm krik' en 'neisi opning' f'r n tíchtigher 'schmærtær' kærل wii ich eenær bin, wær.

I then looked me (ein biszchen herum) a little round and (gefunden) found that (droben) up on 'Possum creek' was a 'nice opening' for a (tüchtig tight) capable 'smart' fellow, as I am one.

¶ 7. Dart am ek wuunt d'r alt 'Eeb' Windbeisser uf m groosi schtik land; dem sei, 'Meeri' het m'r 'ebaut' aa,kschtanne, un alles sunscht dart rum het m'r recht guut gefälle (kfälle), juscht het dii 'Meeri' so gaar eewich fiil schweschtær un briider, dass als kee, plats f'r uns tswee im haus waar, un in dii scheir geeæ musste, wann m'r mit en-annær schwetsæ wættæ.

There on the corner lives old 'Abe' Windbeisser on a large piece (of) land; whose 'Mary about' pleased me, and all (sonst dort herum) besides there-about pleased me right well, only Mary had (gar ewig so viel) quite ever so many sisters and brothers, that (there) was always no place for us two in the house, and (we) must go in the barn when we would speak with oneanother.

¶ 8. Sell het m'r 'ef-koors' net so árik aa,kschtanne, awer (aawer) dii Meeri het gemeent des wær niks, m'r misst sich ewwæ tsu helfæ wissæ.

That 'of-course' was not so very agreeable to me, but Mary considered that to be nothing; one must know (eben) exactly how to help one's self.

¶ 9. En tseit lang iss 'nau' alles guut gange, meini 'kælkæ-leeschenss' waaræ wiider 'reddi' un dii Meeri het mir tsu f'rachteæ gewwæ, dass ich eeniche tseit mit iirem daadi schwetsæ un dann d'r parrær [and parre] beschtélle kennt.

(*For*) some time 'now' all went well, my 'calculations' were again 'ready,' and Mary had given me to understand that any time I could speak with her (Swiss dädi) father, and then engage the minister.

¶ 10. 'Well,' d'r neekscht sundaak, ich hab iim ksaat dass ich un sei, Meeri unser meind ufgemacht hätte tsu heiëre, un froog iin ep ær eenich eppes [or ebbes] dageeghe hätt. Nee, secht ær, ich hab niks dageeghe, aawer hëscht du dann dii 'Mænde' heit kseene?

'Well' the next Sunday I told him that I and his Mary had (English idiom) made up our 'mind' to marry, and asked him (ob) if he had (einiges etwas) any(some)thing there-against. No, (sagt, for G. sagte) said he, I have nothing against it—but have you seen 'Amanda' today?

¶ 11. "Iir hen mich lets f'rschtanne," saag ich, "ich will dii Meeri heiëre, net dii Mænde." (Du muscht wisse, dii Mænde iss 'ebaut' seks joor elter wii dii Meeri un net neekscht soo guutgukich.)

"You have understood me [Swiss and SG. letz] wrongly," say I, "I wish to marry 'Mary' and not 'Amanda'." (You must know, 'Amanda' is 'about' six years older than 'Mary,' and not (next) near so goodlooking.)

¶ 12. "Joo, ich hab dich recht guut f'rschtanne, aawer du bischt noch net 'ufgepooscht.' Geschter marighe iss dii Mænde nooch 'Hen' Greifdaalers 'schoor' un het sich eppes kaaft—'Griischen' Bender glaab ich heescht sii des ding.

"Yes, I have understood you right well, but you are not yet 'posted' up. Yesterday morning 'Amanda' went to 'Hen.' Griepedollar's 'store' and bought herself something—'Grecian' Bend (pun on bend and bänder, ribbons,) I believe she calls the thing.

¶ 13. "Wii dii Meeri sel geseene (or kseene) het, wærd sii gans (or gants) nãrrisch dofoor, un fangt aa, mit d'r Mænde tsu handle, weil d'r 'schoorkiiper' juscht dii eéntsighë maschiin' katt het.

When Mary saw it she becomes quite silly (dafür) for it, and begins to bargain with Amanda, as the 'storekeeper' (hat gehabt) had but the single machine.

¶ 14. "Well, sii sin net eenich [geworden] warre bis geeghe oowet, un dann hen sii 'egriid,' das dii Meeri dich tsu d'r Mænde ufgept, un dii Meeri dii Griischen Bender kriikt!"

"*Well, they were not (einig) in accord till (gegen abend) towards evening, and then they 'agreed' that Mary would give you up to Amanda, and she should get the Grecian Bend.*"

¶ 15. *F'rschwappt?* Mich uf den 'Griischen' Bender 'f'rschwappt,' oone mich ærscht tsu frooghæ?!

'*Swapped*'! *Me 'swapped' on the Grecian Bend, (ohne mich erst zu fragen) without first asking me?!*

¶ 16. "So schteet s 'nau,' dii Mænde is drunne im kuuschtall, wann du ffileicht ærscht mit iir derweeghe schwetæ witt."

"*So stands it 'now,' Amanda is (darunter) down there at the stable, if you perhaps (willst) will first speak with her about it.*"

¶ 17. Ich? mit iir derweeghe schwetæ? Iss gaar net noot-wennich! Wann mich deini meed kaafæ, f'rkaafæ un f'rschwappæ kenne, dann sollæ sii aa seena, dass sii mich kriighæ. 'Guutbei.'

I? speak with her about it? (It) is quite unnecessary. If your girls (können kaufen) can buy, sell, and 'swap' me, then (sollen sie auch sehen) shall they also see that they get me. 'Goodby.'

¶ 18. Ich wees net was dii Windbeisser meed¹ mit un oone Griischen Bender fun miir denke, aawer was ich fun iine denk wees ich, wærd diir s aawer 'ennihau' net saaghæ.

I know not what the Windbeisser girls with and without Grecian Bend think of me, (aber ich weiss) but I know what I think of them—but but will 'anyhow' not tell it to you.

¶ 19. 'Nau' hab ich im sinn noch eé,mool² tsu prowiiræ, sobál ich n 'tschæns' ausfinn, un wann m'r s aa dann net glikt, geb ich s uf un wærd en alter 'bætschëlær.'³

I now have in mind (zu probiren) to try yet (einmal) once, as soon as I find out a 'chance,' and if it also prospers not then with me, I will give it up and be an old 'bachelor.'

§ 2. *Wii kummt æs?*

¶ 1. Ich lees eier tseitung 'reglær' alli woch, un weil ich alsfart so fiil nei-ichkeit'n drin lees, do bin ich schun oft (øft) uf dii 'nosch'n' [gekommen] kummæ iir [müsset] misst alles wisse.

¹ This 'meed' is singular and plural, but the singular is more commonly meedl, SG. maidle, G. mädchen. It differs from maad (sing. and pl. G. magd), a female servant.

² Being emphasised, the accent is on the first syllable, while in 'emool' (below § 2, ¶ 3) it is on the second.

³ Condensed and transliterated from the (German) *Bucks County Express*, Doylestown, Pa. July 20, 1869.

How comes it? *I read (euer) your journal 'regular' every week, and as I constantly read so many novelties in it, (da then) have I indeed often come to the 'notion' you must know everything.*

¶ 2. Wann epper sich ufhengt, oder heiert, oder eppes schteelt, oder gærn on guuti 'affis' hätt, oder in dii 'tscheel' kummt, oder sich n fing-er apschneidt, oder sei, 'plats' f'rkaaft, oder n hinkl schteelt, oder 'guuf'niir' wærræ will, oder im 'getter' kfunne wært, oder sei ni tseitung net betsaalt, dann kamm m'r sich druf f'rlassæn, dass es in dii tseitung kummt.

If (Swiss epper, masc. of G. etwas,) anyone hangs himself, or marries, or steals (G. etwas) anything, or would like to have a good 'office,' or gets into 'jail,' or cuts himself a finger off, or sells his 'place' (or farm), or steals a chicken, or wishes to become 'governor,' or is [gefunden] found in the 'gutter,' or does not pay for his journal, then one can depend upon it that it gets into the newspaper.

¶ 3. Ich bin en alter bauer un f'rachte net fiil, un weil iir alles tsu wissæ scheint, doo will ich eich æmoól en paar sache frooghe, dii ich gærn wissæ deet.

I am an old farmer and do not understand much, and as you seem to understand everything, I will here ask you once several things, which I would like to know.

¶ 4. Wii kummt es, dass dii jung-i bauærbuuwæ graad brillæn un schtek traaghe misse, wann sii in dii 'kallitsch' [geschickt werden] kschikt wærræ? Ich hab als gemeent ich wollt mei, 'Sæm' aa in dii 'kallitsch' schike, aawer wann dii leit graad schlechti aaghæ kriighe un laam wærræ, dann behalt ich mei, 'Sæm' liiwæ dæheem un lærn iin selwer als oowets.

How comes it, that the young farmer-boys must immediately carry spectacles and (stöcke) sticks when they are sent to 'college'? I have hitherto thought I would send my 'Sam.' to 'college,' but if people immediately get bad eyes and become lame, I will rather keep him at home and teach him myself of evenings.

¶ 5. Wii kummt es, dass deel weipsleit in eirem .iisten (Easton) soo aarm [sein wollen] sei, wellæ un doch soo lang-i frackschwents uf 'm 'peefmënt' noochschleefe? [Werden] wærræ¹ selli weipsleit betsaalt f'r s 'peefmënt' [sauber] sawer tsu halte, oder wii [können] kenne sii 'affoordæ' soo aa tsugee?

How comes it, that (theil) part (of the) women in your Easton (sein wollen) pretend to be so poor, and yet (nach-schleifen) drag along

¹ G. worden becomes 'warre.' See § 1, ¶ 14.

such long frock (schwänze) tails on the 'pavement'? Will those women be paid for keeping the 'pavement' clean, else how can they 'afford' to proceed thus?

¶ 6. Wii kummt es, dass dii jung-i buuwe selli meed, woo reichi, daadis [Swiss dädi] hen, liiwer noochschpringe als dii aarmi? Gukt sel net als wii wann sii meer uum s geld gewwe [thäten] deete als wii uum dii meed? Wann ich en meedl wær un hätt so en 'boo,' dann deet ich iin mit d'r feiertsang fartschtéwere.

How comes it, that the young men (lieber nachspringen) sooner run after those girls who have rich [the plural -s is English] fathers, than the poor ones? Looks it not just as if they would give more for the money than for the maid? If I were a girl and had such a 'beau,' (then) I would [stöbern, ö long] drive him forth with the fire-tongs.

¶ 7. Wii kummt es, dass n deel jung-i leit nimmi deitsch leesē un schwetse kenne, wann sii mool 'jes' un 'noo' saaghe kenne? Meim [dative for genitive] noohber, dem Maardi Halsbendl sei, eltäst'r [sohn] suu,, dær so deitsch waar wii saurkraut des schun siwwē mool ufgwærmt iss, waar kærtelich emool in d'r schtatt, un wii ær wiid'r heem kumme iss, do waar ær se eng-lisch, dass ær schiir gaar nimmi mit seim daadi un mammi schwetse kann. Sii sin 'nau' arik im 'truwl' un sei, daadi meent, sii misst'n iin naus nooch Kniphaus'n schikke, f'r iin wiid'r (widr) deitsch tsu mache.

How comes it that some young people are no longer able to read and speak German if they only know how to say 'yes' and 'no'? The eldest son of my neighbor Martin Neckband, who was as Dutch as sourcrout which has been warmed up seven times, was once recently a week in town, and when he had returned home again, there was he so English that he could scarcely speak anymore with his father and mother. They are 'now' greatly in 'trouble,' and his father thinks they must send him out to Kniphausen to make him German again.

¶ 8. Wie kummt es, dass dii aarmi leit geweenlich dii meerschten hund un katsē hen? Do bei uns wuunt n famflje, dii als bettele muss, un dii fiir groose hund un siwwē katsē het. Sii selwer saaghe, sii misst'n so fiil hund hawē f'r dii diib aptsuhaltē.¹

How comes it, that poor people (gewöhnlich haben) commonly have the most dogs and cats? Here near us lives a family which must always beg, and which has four large dogs and seven cats. They themselves say, they (müssten haben) were obliged to have so many dogs to keep away the thieves.

¹ Condensed from the (German) *Correspondent & Demokrat*, Easton, Pa., Aug. 26, 1869.

§ 3.

Will widd'r Biiweli¹ sei.

¶ 1.

es reeghert heit, mr kann net naus
un s iss so 'loonsom' doo im haus;
mr wees net wii mr fiilt.
ich will mool duu, als wæær ich klee,
un uf d'r éwerscht schpeicher gee,
dart hab ich uftmools kschpiilt.

¶ 2.

en biiwli bin ich widder jets,
wu sin mei, k r u t s e un mei, klets?
nau wært n haus gebant!
es schpiilt sich doch net guut alée,—
ich bin joo doch kee, biiwli mee!
was kluppt mei, hærts so laut!

¶ 3.

Harrich! was 'n wunnerbaare sach!
d'r reeghe rappit uf 'm dach
gaar nimmi wii ær het!
ich hab 's als kæært mit leichtem hærts,
nau gepts m'r arik heemwee schmærts,
kennt heile wan ich wet.

¶ 5.

Des schpiile geet net, sæl ich fart?
was iss uf selli balkæ dart?
'nau' bin ich widder buu!
dart hen m'r këschtæ ausgeschtreit,
tsu dærre uf dii Krischdaak tseit—
deet 's gleiche widder duu!

¶ 6.

en biiwli sei,—sell iss d'r wært—
dii këschtæ 'rooschtæ' uf d'r hært—
was het des als gekracht!
Sell iss forbei. Ich fiil 's im gmiid,²
es schpiilt 'n reehtes heemwee liid,
d'r reeghe uf 'm dach!

¶ 7.

Dortschteet dii 'seem' alt walnus kischt,
ich wunner 'nau' was dart drin isch?
's muss eppes 'bartich sei.
Kalléner, tseitung, bicher—hoo!
dii alti sache hen sii doo
all sunnerscht-sewerscht³ nei.

Will be a Boy again.

1.

It rains to-day, one cannot out,
and t is so 'lonesome' in the house;
one knows not how one feels,
I will once do as were I small
and in the highest garret go—
there have I oft times played.

2.

An urchin am I now again,
where are my corn-cobs and my blocks?
'now' will a house be built!
one plays indeed not well alone—
I am in fact no urchin more!
my heart how loud it beats!

3.

And hark! how wonderful it is!
the rain now rattles on the roof
no more as it once did!
I heard it once with buoyant heart,
but now it gives a home-sick smart,
I could weep if I would.

5.

The play succeeds not, shall I forth?
what is upon that timber there?
'now' I 'm a boy again!
there did we spread the chesnuts out
to have them dry for Christmas time—
would 'like' to do t again!

6.

To be a boy—that is worth while—
to 'roast' the chesnuts on the hearth—
what crackling that produced!
t is gone—I feel that in my soul
it plays a real home-sick tune—
the rain upon the roof!

7.

There stands the 'same' old walnut ohist
I wonder 'now' what may be in t,
it must be something (abartig) rare.
Books—calendars—newspapers—oh
the olden objects have we here
all upside down within.

¹ The spelling of the original is 'Buwelle,' without the *umlaut*, which others use. The original has 'owerscht' in the fifth line, but the *umlaut* is in use, and seems to be required, as in Bavarian. For notes ² and ³ see next page.

¶ 8.

'Nau' bin ich sauer recht en buu,
weil ich do widd'r seene duu
des alt bekannte sach.
Harrich! hæerscht d'r reeghe! 'Jes
indiid'—
er schpiilt en rechtes heemwee liid
dart oowe uf 'm dach!

¶ 13.

Sii henke net am balke mee
dii bindle fun dem kreitar tee,
un allerlee gewærts;
'nau' will ich widd'r biwli sei,—
ich hool sii f'r dii mammi rei,—
sell 'pliist' mei, biwli hært.⁴

— HARBAUGH.

8.

But 'now' I truly am a boy
because I now again behold
this old familiar thing.
Hark! Hearst the rain! 'Yes, yes
indeed,'
it plays a proper home-sick air
up there upon the roof!

13.

They hang not on the cross-beams more
the bundles of botanic tea,
and every kind of root;
'now' I will be a boy again
and for my mother bring them in—
that 'pleased' my boyish heart.

² G. gemüth.³ G. *das unterste zu oberst* (topsy-turvy). Compare PG. 'hinnerscht-fedderscht' (wrong end foremost).⁴ Transliterated extract from a longer poem in the *Father Abraham, Lancaster*, Pa. Feb. 1869.§ 4. *Anglicised German.*

The following factitious example, full of English words and idioms, is from a New York German newspaper, and purports to be written by a German resident in America. The spelling recalls the name HEYFLEYER over a stall in the stables of the King of Wurtemberg. The writer of the letter spells his name in three ways, instead of 'Schweineberger,' as given in the tale.

Landkäsder, Pensilvenia, North-Amerika, 32. Dezz. 52.

Dheire Mudder!—Du Würft es nit begreife kenne, alz ich dort weck bin, hawen alle Leit gefacht, der Hannes werdd nit gud ausmache, das ich jetzt so gut ab binn. Awer, well, jetzt g'hör ich zu de Tschental-Leit in unfre Zitti unn eeniger Männ, wo in Iurop en werri fein Männ is, dhät lachche, bikahs er gleichte so gut auszumache, als der John Swinebarker.

Obfchon, ich unterfehe des Büffeneff beffer as die andre Dotfchmänn, wo eweri Teim so schlecht edfchukädet bleibe, as se in Iurop ware; Wer hier gleicht, gud auszumache, muß sich zu de amerikanische Tschental-Leit halte, wo eweri Männ Something lerne kann.

Du kannst auch zu mein dheires Eliänorche fage, das es kommen kann; sie kann der hohl Däy im Rockel-Schär fitze, ich send hir inkluded fixtig Dollars, mit das kann sie über Liwerpuhl und Nujork zu mich komme, und verbleibe Dein moß zänkvoll Son

John Swineberger.

Bofchkriptt: Du mußt die Monni for des Bordo auslege; ich will send es Dir mit dem nächste Letter.

John Schweinebärker.

CHAPTER IX.

ENGLISH INFLUENCED BY GERMAN.

§ 1. *German Words introduced.*

If the Germans of Pennsylvania adopted many words from English, the English speaking population applied the appellation of *German* or *Dutch* to unfamiliar varieties of objects, such as a *Dutch cheese*, a *German lock*; or they adopted the original names, as in calling a form of curds *smearcase* (G. *schmierkäse*) in the markets and prices current. German forms of food have furnished the vicinal English with *sourcrout*, *mush*, *shtreisslers*, *bretsels*, *fawstnachts*,¹ *tseegercase*, *kneep* (G. *Knöpfe*, the *k* usually pronounced), *bower-kneep*, *noodles*; and in some of the interior markets, endive must be asked for under the name of 'æntiifi,' even when speaking English. Dutch gives *crullers*, but *stoop* (of a house) is hardly known. In English conversation one may hear expressions like "He belongs to the *freindschaft*" (he is a kinsman or relation); "It makes me *greisslich* to see an animal killed" (makes me shudder and revolt with disgust—turns my stomach). A strong word without an English equivalent.

The German idiom of using *einmal* (once) as an expletive, is common, as in "Bring me a chair once," and when a person whose vernacular is English says, "I am through another" (I am confused), he is using a translation of the German *durch einander*, PG. 'dárich enánnør.' Of such introduced words, the following deserve mention.

Metsel-soup, originally pudding broth, the butcher's perquisite, but subsequently applied to a gratuity from the animals he has slaughtered.

¹ Shrove-tide cakes—with the PG. pronunciation, except *st*.

Shinner, G. *schinder* (a knacker,¹) an objurgatory epithet applied by butchers to farmers who compete with them in the market.

Speck, the flitch of salt bacon, particularly when boiled with sourcrout, hence, 'speck and sourcrout.'

Tsitterly, calf's-foot jelly.

Hartley, a hurd-le for drying fruit.

Snits, a *snit* (G. *schnitz*, a cut), a longitudinal section of fruit, particularly apples, and when dried for the kitchen. The term is in use in districts where German is unknown.²

Hootale, PG. *hutsal*, G. *hotzel*, a dried fruit; Bavar. and Suab. *hutzel*, a dried pear. In Pennsylvania, a peach dried without removing the stone.

Dumb (G. *dumm*) is much used for *stupid*.

Fockle (G. *fackel*), a fisherman's torch.

Mother (PG. from G. *mutter-weh*, not parturition, but) a hysterical rising in the throat. The word occurs in old and provincial English.³

Chipmunk, a ground-squirrel (*Tamias*); *chip* probably from its cry, and Swiss *munk*, a marmot.

Spook (G. *Spuk*), a spectre; and the verb, as—"It spooks there," "The grave-yard spooks."

Cristkintly (PG. *Krischtkintli*, G. *Christ Kindlein*), the Christ Child who is supposed to load the christmas trees and bring presents at christmas. Perverted in the Philadelphia newspapers to *Kriss Kringle*, *Kriss Kingle*, and *Kriss Kinkle*.

Christmas-tree, a well-known word for a well-known and much used object, but absent from the American dictionaries.

Bellsnickle, PG. *beltsnikkl* (G. *Pels* a pelt, skin with hair, as a bear-skin, here used as a disguise, and perhaps associated with *pelzen*, to pelt,) and *Nickel*, *Nix*, in the sense of a demon. (Suab. *Pelzmärte*, as if based on *Martin*). A masked and hideously disguised person, who goes from house to house on christmas eve, beating (or pretending to beat) the children and servants, and throwing down nuts and cakes before leaving. A noisy party

¹ G. *Knochen* (bones).

² A teacher asked a class—If I were to cut an apple in two, what would you call one of the pieces? "A *half*." And in four? "A *fourth*." And if I cut it in eight equal pieces, what would one of them be? "A *snit*!"

³ Compare—O, how this mother swells up toward my heart!

Hysterica passio, thou climbing sorrow,

Thy element's below.—*King Lear*, act 2, sc. 4, speech 20, v. 54.

—A. J. Ellis.

accompanies him, often with a *bell*, which has influenced the English name.

These, I suppose, were Christmas mummers, though I heard them called "Bell-schnickel."—*Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1869, p. 484.

Gounsh, n. and v.i. As *to seesaw* implies reciprocal motion, so *to gounsh* is to move up and down, as upon the free end of an elastic board. PG. 'Kumm, mr wellə gaunschə.' (Come, let us gounsh.) Suab. gautschen; Eng. to *jounce*.¹

Hoopsisaw (PG. húpissaa, also provincial German). A rustic or low dance, and a lively tune adapted to it. Inferior lively music is sometimes called 'hoopsisaw music,' 'a hoopsisaw tune.'

Hoove, v.i. a command to a horse to back, and used by extension as in "The men hooved (demurred) when required to do more work." Used in both senses in the Swiss *hufen*, imperative *huf!* and Schmeller (*Bayr. Wörterb.* 2, 160) gives it as Bavarian.

Hussling-, or **Hustling-match**, PG. hussl-mætsch (with English *match*), a raffle. From the root of *hustle*, the game being conducted by shaking coins in a hat and counting the resulting heads.

Sock up, "to make a man sock up," pay a debt, produce his *sack* or pouch. This is uncertain, because, were a PG. expression to occur like "Du muscht ufsakke" (you must sock up), it might be borrowed from English.

Boof, peach brandy. In Westerwaldish, *buff* is water-cider,—cider made by wetting the pomace and pressing it a second time.

Sots, n. sing. G. satz, home-made 'yeast' as distinguished from 'brewer's-east.'

Sandman, "The sandman is coming,"—said when children get sleepy about bedtime and indicate it by rubbing the eyes. Used thus in Westerwald and Suabia.² Children are warned against touching dirt by the exclamation (*bætschi*).

Snoot, for snout, a widespread teutonic form.

¹ The German word appears to be *gautschen* without the *n*. So Schmeller (*Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, 2, 87) "*gautschen, gatschen, schwanken, schaukeln*." Adelung (*Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart*, 2, 439) explains it as a technical paper-maker's word for taking the sheets out of the mould and laying them upon the press-board, *Gautschbret*. He adds that a carrying chair was formerly called a *Gautsche*, and refers it to *Kutsche* and French *coucher*.—A. J. E.

² Compare Papageno's song in Mozart's *Zauberflöte*:

Der Vogelfänger bin ich ja
Stets lustig, heiss, hopsasa.—A. J. Ellis.

³ Known probably throughout England. Known to me, a Londoner, from earliest childhood.—A. J. Ellis.

§ 2. *Family Names Modified.*

With several concurrent languages, the deterioration of names is an obvious process. Among the mixed population of Baltimore, the name 'Bradley' is to a Frenchman *Bras-de-long*; for 'Strawberry' (alley) and 'Havre-de-grâce' (in Maryland) the Germans say *Strubbel*, and *Hasel-im-gras*; and the Irish make the following changes—

Carron (French)	<i>Scarron</i>	Schöffeler	<i>Scosfield</i>
Coquerelle	<i>Corcoran</i>	van Dendriessche	<i>Driscoll</i>
de Vries	<i>Freezer</i>	van Emstede	<i>Hampsted</i>
Giessen	<i>Gleason</i>	Winsierski	<i>Winchester</i>
Grimm	<i>Grimes</i>	Fayette Street	<i>Faith St.</i>
Henning	<i>Hannon</i>	Alice Ann St.	<i>Alexander St.</i>
Rosier	<i>Rosetree</i>	Happy Alley	<i>Apple Alley</i>

A German with a name which could not be appreciated, was called *John Waterhouse* because he attended a railroad tank—a name which he adopted and placed upon his sign when he subsequently opened a small shop. A German family became ostensibly Irish by preferring the sonant phase of their initial—calling and writing themselves *Grady* instead of *Krady*; a name 'Leuter' became *Lander*; 'Amweg' was tried a while as *Amwake* and then resumed; and in a family record, the name 'George' is given as *Schorts*. A postoffice 'Chickis' (Chikiswalungo—place where crayfish burrow) received a letter directed to *Schickgets*, another *Schickens Laenghaester Caunte*, and 'Berks County' has been spelled *Burgix Caunte*.¹

The following German and Anglicised forms may be compared,—

Albrecht	<i>Albright</i>	Frey (free)	<i>Fry</i>
Bachman	<i>Baughman</i>	Früauf	<i>Freeauf</i>
Becker	<i>Baker, Pecker</i>	Fusz (foot)	<i>Foose</i>
Dock	<i>Duck</i>	Geisz (goat)	<i>Gise</i>
Eberhardt	<i>Everhart</i>	Gerber	<i>Garber</i>
Eberle	<i>Everly</i>	Giebel	<i>Gibble</i>
Eckel	<i>Eagle</i>	Gräff	<i>Graff, -o, -ae</i>
Ege ²	<i>Hagy ?</i>	Guth	<i>Good, Goot</i>
Ewald	<i>Ewalt</i>	Haldeman	<i>Holderman³</i>
Fehr	<i>Fair</i>	Herberger	<i>Harberger</i>

¹ The geographical names at the close of Chapter I. p. 6, are Kentucky, Safe Harbor, Syracuse, and Pinegrove. The drugs are aloes (pronounced as in Latin!), paregoric, citrine ointment, acetic acid, hiera picra, cinnamon, Guiana pepper, gentian, cinchona, opium, hive syrup, senna and manna mixed, sulphate of zinc, corrosive sublimate, red precipitate, aniline, logwood, Epsom salts, magnesia, cordial, cubebs, bichromate of potash, valerian (G. Baldrian), laurel berries, cochineal.

² Rhymes plaguey, even in English localities.

³ As if from the plant *elder*, instead of Swiss *halde*, a steep or declivity—the name being Swiss.

Hinkel	<i>Hinkle</i>	Pfaufs	<i>Fouts, Pouts</i>
Hofman	<i>Hoofman</i>	Pfeiffer	<i>Pyfer</i>
Huber	<i>Hoover</i>	Reif (ripe)	<i>Rife</i>
Kaufman	<i>Coffman</i>	Reisinger	<i>Riesinger</i>
Kaufroth	<i>Cuffroot</i>	Riehm	<i>Ream</i>
Kehler	<i>Kaylor</i>	Roth (red)	<i>Roath, Rots</i>
Kochenauer	<i>Goughnour</i>	Ruth	<i>Root</i>
Koick	<i>Cowhawk</i>	Schellenberger	<i>Shallyberger</i> ¹
Krauskopf	<i>Krosskop</i>	Schenk	<i>Shank</i>
Kreider	<i>Crider</i>	Scheuerman	<i>Shireman</i>
Kreybil	<i>Graypeel</i>	Schnebele	<i>Snaveley</i>
Kühnlein	<i>Coonly, -ley</i>	Schneider	<i>Snyder, Snider</i>
Kutz	<i>Kutts</i>	Seip	<i>Sype, Sipe</i>
Leitner	<i>Lightner</i>	Seipel	<i>Seiple, Sible</i>
Leybach	<i>Libough</i>	Seitz	<i>Sides</i>
Mayer	<i>Moyer</i>	Senz	<i>Sense</i>
Meyer	<i>Mire</i>	Spraul	<i>Sprowl</i>
Mosser	<i>Musser</i>	Stambach	<i>Stambough</i>
Mosseman	<i>Musselman</i>	Strein	<i>Strine</i>
Neumeyer	<i>Narmire?</i>	Valentin	<i>Felty</i>
Noll	<i>Null</i>	WeltzhuBer	<i>Beltzhoo Ver</i> ²
Nüssli	<i>Nicely, Nissly</i>	Wetter	<i>Fetter</i>
Oberholtzer	<i>Overholser</i>	Wild	<i>Wilt</i>

So 'Schleyermacher' passed thro *Slaremaker* to *Slaymaker*; and by a similar process, farther changes may take place, like Mutsch to *Much*, Bertsch to *Birch*, Brein to *Brine*, Schutt to *Shoot* or *Shut*, Rüppel to *Ripple*, Knade (gnade grace) to *Noddy*, Buch to *Book*, Stahr to *Star*, Fing-er to *Fin-ger*, Melling-er to *Mellin-ger*, Stilling-er³ to *Stillin-ger*, Cöver to *Cöver*, Fuhrman to *Foreman*, Rohring⁴ to *Roaring*, Gehman to *Gayman*.

Names are sometimes translated, as in *Stoneroad* for 'Steinweg,' *Carpenter* for both 'Schreiner' and 'Zimmermann,' and both *Short* and *Little* for 'Kurz' or 'Curtius.'

Part of a name may be anglicised, as in *Finkbine*, *Espen-shade*, *Trautwine*—where the first syllable has the German sound. *Fentzmaker* is probably a condensation of *Fenstermacher*.

It is remarkable that speakers of German often use English forms of baptismal names, as *Mary* for *María*, *Henry* for

¹ And Shellabarger, American Minister to Portugal, 1869.

² The 'b' and 'v' of the two forms have changed place.

³ These names, with Rauch, Bucher, the Scotch Cochran, etc., are still pronounced correctly in English speaking localities in Pennsylvania; and at Harrisburg, 'Salade' rhymes *holid'y*.

⁴ The organists Thunder and Rohr gave a concert in Philadelphia some years ago. In New York I have seen the names 'Stone and Flint,' and 'Lay and Hatch,' where the proper name takes precedence.

Heinrich, and *John* (tschan, shorter than the medial English sound) for Johannes.¹

Of curious family names without regard to language, the following may be recorded—premising that proper names are especially subject to be made spurious by the accidents of typography.²

Ahl, Awl, Ammon, Annë, Barndollar, Baud, Bezoar, Bigging, Blades, Bohrer, Boring, Book, Bracken, Bricker (bridgor), Buckwalter, Burkholder and Burchhalter (burg-holder), Byler, Candle, Candour, Care, Case, Channell, Chronister, Condit, Coohar, Cumberbus (Smith's *Voyage to Guinea*, 1744), Curgus or Cirous, Dehoof, Dialogue, Ditto, Dosh, Eave, Eldridge (in part for Hildreth), Erb, Eyde, Eyesore (at Lancaster, Pa.), Fasnacht (G. *fastnacht shrovetide*), Feather, Ferry (for the Walloon name Ferree³); Friday, Fornaux, Furnace, Gans (*goose*, Gansert, Gensemer, Grossgensly), Gift (poison), Ginder, Gruel, Gutmann (good-man) Hag (hedge), Harmany, Hecter, Hepting, Herd, Heard, Hergelrat (rath *counsel*), Hinderer, Hock, Holzhauer and Holzhower (woodchopper), Honnafusz (G. *bahn a cock*), Kash, Kitch, Koffer, Landtart, Lawer, Leis, Letz, Licht, Line, Lipp, Løb (lion), Løwr (at St. Louis), Mackrel, Manusmith, Matt, Marrs, Mehl, Mortersteel, Mowrer (G. *maur a wall*), Napp, Neeper (Niebuhr?), Nohaker, Nophsker, Ochs, Over, Oxworth, Peelman, Penas (in Ohio), Pfund, Popp, Poutch, Quirk, Rathvon (Rodfong, Rautfaung), Road, Rottenstein (in Texas), Rutt, Sangmeister, Scheuerbrand, Schlegelmilch, Schlong (snake), Schottel, Segar, Seldomridge, Senn, Service (in Indiana), Shaver, Shilling, Shinover, Shock, Shot, Showers, Skats (in Connecticut), Smout, Spoon, Springer, Steer (in Texas), Stern, Stetler, Stormfeltz, Strayer, Stretch, Stridle, Sumption, Surgeon, Swoop (a Suab-ian), Test, Tise, Tice (Theiss?), Tittles, Towstenberier, Tyzat (at St. Louis), Umble, Venus, Venerich, -rik, Vestal (in Texas), Vinegar's Ferry, on the Susquehanna), Vogelsang, Wallower, Waltz, Wolfspanier, Wonder, Woolrick (for Wulfrich?), Work, Worst, Yaffe, Yecker, Yeisley, Yordea, Zeh, Zuschwerdt.

¹ In the following inscription on a building, 'bei' instead of 'von' shows an English influence. The author knew English well: was a member of the state legislature, had a good collection of English—but not of German books—and yet preferred a German inscription—

ERBAUET BEI JOHN & MARIA HALDEMAN 1790.

Inscriptions are commonly in the roman character, from the difficulty of cutting the others.

² As in 'Chladori' for *Chladni*, in the American edition of the *Westminster Review* for July, 1865. The name Slyvons stands on the title-page as the author of a book on Chess (Bruxelles, 1856), which M. Cretaine in a similar work (*Paris*, 1866) gives as Solvyns. Upon calling Mr. C.'s attention to this point, he produced a letter from the former, signed *Solvyns*.

³ The forms of this name are Ferree, Ferrie, Fuehre, Ferie, Verre, Fiere, Firre, Ferry, Feire, Fire; and as 'Ferree' is now pronounced *Free*, this may be a form also. In the year 1861, when in Nassau, I observed that the English visitors pronounced the name of a building in four modes, one German and three not German—Bädhaus, Bath-house, Bad-house, and Bawd-house.

Among the following curious, incompatible, or hybrid¹ names, titles (except that of 'General') have been mistaken for proper names—Horatio Himmereich, Owen Reich, Caspar Reed, Dennis Loucks, Baltzer Stone, Addison Shelp, Paris Rudisill, Adam Schuh, Erasmus Buckenmeyer, Peter Pence, General Wellington H. Ent, General Don Carlos Buel, Don Alonzo Cushman, Sir Frank Howard, Always Wise (probably for Alôis Weiss). In November, 1867, Gilbert Monsieur Marquis de Lafayette Sproul, asked the legislature of Tennessee to cut off all his names but the last two.

¹ Latin HIBRIDA. I have marked the first English syllable short to dissociate it from the *high-breed* of gardeners and florists, which 'hybrid' suggests.

CHAPTER X.

IMPERFECT ENGLISH.

§ 1. *Broken English.*

Specimens of English as badly spoken by Germans who have an imperfect knowledge of it, are common enough, but they seldom give a proper idea of its nature. The uncertainty between sonant and surd is well known, but like the Cockney with *h*, it is a common mistake to suppose that the misapplication is universal,¹ for were this the case, the simple rule of reversal would set the speakers right in each case.

It is true that the German confounds English *t* and *d*, but he puts *t* for *d* more frequently than *d* for *t*. In an advertisement cut from a newspaper at Schwalbach, Nassau, in 1862—

Ordres for complet Diners or simples portions is punctually attended to and send in town—

there seems to be a spoken reversal of *t* and *d*, but I take 'send' to be an error of grammar, the pronunciation of the speaker being probably *attentet*, and *sent*. "Excuse my bad riding" (writing) is a perversion in speech. A German writes 'dacke' *take*, 'de' *the*, 'be' *be*, 'deere' *deer*, 'contra' *country*, and says :—

I am æble [able] to accomodeted with any quantity of dis kins of Ruts [kinds of roots]. Plies tirectad to . . . Sout Frond Stread . . . nort america.

Here there is an attempt at the German flat *p* (p. 11) in the *bp* of 'able'; the surd *th* of 'north' and 'south' becomes *t*, and the sonant *th* of 'this' becomes *d*—'with' remaining under the old spelling. The *p* of 'please' remains, but *d* of 'direct' becomes *t*; and while final *t* of 'front' and 'street' becomes

¹ A boy in the street in Liverpool (1866) said to a companion—" 'e told me to 'old up my 'ands an' I 'eld em up." He did not say *hup*, *han* *hI*, *hem*.

d, the first *t* in 'street,' and that in 'directed,' are kept pure by surd *s* and *cay*. The rule of surd to surd and sonant to sonant is neglected in most of the factitious specimens of broken English.

The next is an instructive and a genuine example, being the record of a Justice of the Peace in Dauphin County (that of Harrisburg, the State Capital). It will be observed that the complainant bought a house, and being refused possession, makes a forcible entry and is resisted. The spelling is irregular, as in 'come' and 'com,' 'the' and 'de,' 'did' and 'dit,' 'then' and 'den,' 'nothin' and 'nosing,' 'house' and 'hause,' 'put' and 'but,' 'open' and 'upen.'

The said . . . sait I dit By de hause and I went in de hause at de back winder and den I dit upen de house and Dit take out his furnitue and nobotty Dit distorbe me till I hat his furnitue out; I did but it out in de streat Before the house; and then he dit Com Wis a barl and dit nock at the dore that the Dore dit fly open and the molding dit Brack louse¹ and then I dit Wornt him not to come in the hause and not to put anneysing in the hause and he dit put in a barl Into the hause and I did put it out and he dit put it in again and then he did put In two Sisses² and srout the barl against Me; and then I dit nothin out annezmore and further nosing more; Sworn & Subscript the Dey and yeare above ritten before me . . . J.P.—*Newspaper*.

The beginning and close follow a legal formula. The PG. idiom which drops the imperfect tense runs through this, in expressions such as 'I did open,' 'I did put,' 'I did warned,' etc.; but as might be expected, the English idiom is also present, in 'I went' and 'he throwed.' Making allowance for reminiscences of English spelling, and the accidents of type, this is an excellent specimen of the phases of English from German organs. It shows that sonants and surds do not always change place, as in *did*, *nobody*, *disturb*, *out*, *that*, *not*,

¹ Compare with a word in the following note sent to a druggist in Harrisburg, Pa. "Plihs leht meh haf Sohm koh kohns Peryhs ohr Sähmtig darhts guht voehr Ah lihttel Dahg Gaht lausse vor meh." [*Louse* for *loose* is common in the north of England. Thus in Peacock's Lonsdale Glossary (published for the Philological Society, 1869) we find: "*Louse*, *adj.* (1) loose. O.N. *laus*, solutus. (2) Impure, disorderly.—*v.t.* to loose. "To *loosse* 'em out on t' common" = "To let cattle go upon the common.—To be at a louse-end. To be in an unsettled, dissipated state.—*Lous-ith'*-heft, *n.* a disorderly person, a spendthrift."—*A. J. Ellis*.]

² The *two* shows that this is a plural. When recognised, it will be observed that the law of its formation is legitimate.

come, which are not necessarily turned into *tit*, *nopotty*, *tisdurp*, *oud*, *dad*, *nod*, *gum*.¹

In the foregoing example, the final *t* of *went* (where some might have expected 'wend'), *dit* for 'did,' *hat* for 'had,' *streat*, *wornt* for 'warned,' *put*, *srout* for 'throwed,' and *subscript*,—is for Latin -AT-US, English -ed, and as this is *t* in German, it is retained by the language instinct, even when represented by 'd,' as in *gol-d*. Were there not something different from mere accident here, Grimm's Law would be a delusion. The *t* of *out*, *disturb*, and the first one in *street*, is due to the surd *s* beside it, or in the German *aus* and *strasse*.

In *the*, *de*; *then*, *den*; *wis*; *anneysing*, *nosing*; *srout*, the sonant *th* becomes *d* by glottōsis,² and the surd one *s* by otōsis, or *t* by glottosis also, and 'nothing' is more likely to become *nossing* or *notting*, than *nodding*—and English *z* is not known to many German dialects. On the other hand, *z* as the representative of sonant *th*, is legitimate in the broken English of a Frenchman.

The *p* of 'open' and the *g* of 'against' are influenced by the German forms *öffnen* and *gegen*.

In "I dit nothin out annezmore"—*any* is made plural, and 'did out' (for the previous 'put out') seems to be a reminiscence of the German *austhun*.

§ 2. *The Breitmann Ballads.*

In these ballads Mr. Leland has opened a new and an interesting field in literature which he has worked with great success, for previous writers wanted the definite, accurate knowledge which appears in every page of Hans Breitmann, and which distinguishes a fiction like the *Lady of the Lake* from a

¹ For the word 'twenty-five,' the speaking and singing machine of the German Faber said *twenty-five*, in imitation of its fabricator, using *t* and *f* because they occur in the German word. Similarly, *feif* for *five* appears in the following joke from an American German newspaper:—

"Ein Pennfylvanisch-Deutscher hatte zwei Pferde verloren und schickte folgende Annonce: Ei löst mein tu Horfes! Der wonne ist a Sarrelhors, langen Schwanzthäl, schort abgekuthet, aber weederum ausgrown; der annerwonn is bläcker, aber mit four weiht Fiecht en en weißen Strich in his Fähs. Hu will bring mein tu Horfes bäck to mi, will rezief feif Thalers reward."

² *Hald.* Analytic Orthography, § 294.

figment like *Hiawatha*. Here we have an attempt to represent the speech of a large class of European¹ Germans who have acquired English imperfectly, and who must not be confounded with the Pennsylvania German, altho the language of the two may have many points in common.

Apart from their proper function, and under their present spelling, the Breitmann ballads have but little philologic value. Instead of being the representative of an average speech, they contain forms which can hardly occur, even when influenced by the perversity of intentional exaggeration, such as *shbeed*, *shdare*, *shdory*, *ghosdt*, *exisdt*, *lefdt*, *quesdions*, *excepdion*, and where the sonant *d* occurs beside the surd *sh*, *f*, and *t*, in the lines:—

'De dimes he cot oopsetted ¹	¹ oopsettett.
In shdeerin lefdt und righdt. ²	² G. rechf.
Vas ofdenser ³ as de cleamin shdars ⁴	³ G. öfter. ⁴ shtarrrs.
Dat shtud de shky ⁵ py ⁶ nighdt.'	⁵ sky. ⁶ G. bei.

In these pages an *average* speech is assumed as the basis of comparison, and also the average German who does one thing or avoids another in language. In such examples of bad English, surd and sonant (*p, b*; *t, d*; *k, gay*) must be confused, and German words like 'mit' for *with*, and 'ding' (rather than 'ting' or 'sing') for *thing*, may be introduced at discretion, as in Mr. Leland's use of *ding*, *mit*, *blitsen*, *erstaunished* (for *-isht*), *Himmel*, *shlog*, and others.

When German and English have the same phase, it should be preserved, *book* (G. *buch*) has a sonant initial and a surd final in both languages; a German therefore, who brings his habits of speech into English, will not be likely to call a book a *boog*, *poog*, or *pook*; and Mr. Leland's habits as a German

¹ This accent is not wanted for Englishmen of the present day. Noah Webster (Disertations on the English Language, Boston U.S. 1789, p. 118) says: "Our modern fashionable speakers accent *European* on the last syllable but one. This innovation has happened within a few years. . . . Analogy requires *Euro'pean* and this is supported by as good authorities as the other." He adds in a footnote. "*Hymenean* and *hymeneal* are, by some writers, accented on the last syllable but one; but erroneously. Other authorities preserve the analogy." Milton has *hymenean*, P. L. 4, 711. Milton's line "Epicurean, and the Stoic severe," P. Reg. 4 280, is strange, however the word may be accented; Shakspere's "keep his brain fuming; Epicduran cooks," A. and C., act 2, sc. 1, sp. 9, v. 24, is distinct enough. If the long diphthong or vowel in Latin were a proper guide, we should have to say *inimi'cal*, *doctrī'nal*, *ami'cable*. These words are accented on the same plan as those taken from the French. And this would give the common *Eurō'pean*, which is now strictly tabooed.—A. J. Ellis.

scholar have led him to write *book, beer* (and *bier*) *fear, free, drink, denn, trink, stately, plow, born, dokter, togeder, hart* (hard), *heart, tead* (dead), *fought, frolic, goot, four, hat* (had, hat,—but in the latter sense it should have been *het*), *toes, dough* (though), *tousand, pills*, etc. Under this rule, his ‘plood’ and ‘blood’ (G. blut) should have been *blut* :—

benny	<i>penny</i>	dwice	<i>twice</i>	pefore	<i>before</i>	prown	<i>brown</i>
blace	<i>place</i>	fifty	<i>fifty</i>	pegin	<i>begin</i>	py	<i>by</i>
blaster	<i>plaster</i>	giss	<i>kiss</i>	pehind	<i>behind</i>	prow	<i>brow</i>
breest	<i>priest</i>	led	<i>let</i>	plue	<i>blue</i>	sed	<i>to set</i>
creen	<i>green</i>	mighdy	<i>mighty</i>	pone	<i>bone</i>	streed	<i>street</i>
deers	<i>tears</i>	pack n.	<i>back</i>	prave	<i>brave</i>	veet	<i>feet</i>
dell	<i>tell</i>	pall	<i>ball</i>	pranty	<i>brandy</i>	vifdeen	<i>fifteen</i>
den	<i>ten</i>	peard	<i>beard</i>	preak	<i>break</i>	vine	<i>fine</i>
dwelwe	<i>twelf</i>	pecause	<i>because</i>	prings	<i>brings</i>	wide	<i>vite</i>

In cases where the two languages do not agree in phase, either phase may be taken, as in ‘troo’ or ‘doo’ for English *through* with a surd initial, beside German *durch* with a sonant; but as German cognate finals are more likely to be surd than sonant (as in *lockwouth* for *logwood* at the end of Ch. I. p. 6), *goot, hart* and *holt*, as *breitmannish* forms, are better than *good, hard, and hold*. Mr. Leland practically admits this, as in ‘barrick’ (G. *berg*, a hill), which, however, many will take for a *barrack*.¹ The following have a different phase in German and English—

day tay	door toor	-hood -hoot	red ret
ding ting	dream tream	hund- hunter	said set
dirsty tirsty	drop trop	middle mittle	saddle sattle
done tone	fader fater	pad path	drink trink

but *k*, and the pure final German *s* would turn *d* to *t* in ‘bridges,’ ‘brackdise,’ ‘outsides,’ ‘holds,’ ‘shpirids;’ it would turn *g* to *k* in ‘rags,’ and it makes ‘craps’ (crabs) correct. The power of English *z* can scarcely be said to belong to average German, or to the *breitmannish* dialect; it should therefore be *ss* in ‘doozen,’ ‘preeze’ (*breeze*), and ‘phaze.’ When it is present it occurs initial, and we have ‘too zee’ once, against numerous *s* initials like *see, sea, say, so, soul, six*.

The ballads have many irregularities in spelling like—as, ash; is, ish; one, von; two, dwo; dwelf, dwelwe, twelve, zwölf (for *twelf*); chor, gorus; distants, tisaster; dretful; tredful; eck (the correct form), egg; het, head, headt;

¹ The probable *breitmannish* form of scythes is given in these pages. Compare “Pargerswill, Box [Parkersville, Bucks] Kaundie Pensilfäni.”

groundt, cround, croundt; land, lantlord, Marylandt; shpirid, shpirit, shbirit; drumpet; trumpet; foorst, foost, first, virst; fein, vine; went, vent; old, olt, oldt; teufel, tyfel, tuyfel.

English *J* is placed in soobjectixe, objectified, jail, jammed, juice, jump (shoomp, choomp); it is represented by *sh* in shoost, shiant, shinglin; by *ch* (correctly) in choin, choy, choke, enchine; by *g*, *dg* in change, hedge; and by *y* in Yane and soobjectify—which is not objectionable. English *Ch* remains in catch, child, chaps (and shaps), fetch, sooch, mooch; and it becomes *sh* in soosh (such), shase, sheek.

English *Sh* is proper in shmoke, shmile, shplit, shpill, shpoons, shtart, shtick, shtrike, shtop, shvear; it is omitted in smack, stamp, slept; and it is of doubtful propriety in ash (as), ashk, vash (was), elshe, shkorn, shkare, shky.

English *D* final is often written *dt* that the word may be recognised and the sound of *t* secured, as in laidt, roadt, shouldt, vouldt, findt, foundt, roundt (and round), vordt (and vord), obercoadt. English *ed* and its equivalents should be *et* or *t* in broken English, as in loadet, reconet, pe-markt, riset, signet, rollet, seemet, slightet, declaret, paddlet, mate (made), kilt; *-ed* being wrong, as in said, coomed, bassed, scared, trinked, smashed, rooshed, bleased.

English *F*, *V*, *W*, receive the worst treatment, and are judged by the eye rather than by speech. German *folgen* and English *follow* are turned into 'vollow'; German *weil* is 'while' and 'while.' Other examples are wind and vindow; when, whenefer (turning not only German *v*, but English *v* into *f*), fery for *very*,—but svitch, ve (we), veight, vink, are proper. The following example is from 'Schnitzerl's Philosopede'—

'Oh vot ish all¹ dis eartly plias?

Oh, vot ish 'man's soocksess?²

Oh, vot is various kinds³ of dings?

Und vot is 'hoppiness?

Ve find a pank node in de shtreedt,⁵

Next[-sht] 'dings⁶ der pank ish 'preak!

Ve folls¹ und knocks our outsides⁶ in,

Ven ve a ten-shtrike make.'

¹ *ol* in *folly*.

² sooccess.

³ *s* turns *d* into *t*.

⁴ *iss* or *ish*, not both.

⁵ shtreet.

⁶ dings. ⁷ *d* requires *b*.

⁸ G. seit, and final *s*, require *t*.

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